

FORT JANE + THE SOUTHERN

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FORT JANE

7.2004.016.05000



Indiana

Fort Wayne

Fort Wayne and the Civil War

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

JOHN HOWEN, JR.,
Attorney and Counselor at Law,
PORT WYNE, IND.,
Sole Representative of the following Manufacturers and Importers of Cigars,
in Western Counties of Northern Indiana.

Manufacturers:

A. B. Chambers & Co., New York.	Eschscholtz, Blumstein & Co., Philadelphia.
Allen, Smith & Co., New York.	Fleming, Bates & Co., "
Ames, Smith & Co., New York.	Lewis, Rogers & Co., "
A. B. Chambers & Co., New York.	Markey & Co., "
Ames, Smith & Co., New York.	McCormick, Rice & Co., Cincinnati.
Ames, Smith & Co., New York.	Wardman & Co., "
Ames, Smith & Co., New York.	Wardman & Co., "
Ames, Smith & Co., New York.	Wardman & Co., "
Ames, Smith & Co., New York.	Wardman & Co., "
Ames, Smith & Co., New York.	Wardman & Co., "

Fort Wayne, Ind., Oct 18 1858

S. P. Williams Esq
Sims and Child

Linda Lind

Dear Sir It has been decided on the part of the friends of Charles base in this city, to give him a supper in honor of his election & as a compliment for his services in the Republican cause. That supper will be given at the "Rockhill House" on Friday evening & invitations will be sent to the friends of the cause in the different counties of the district. For your county the following persons are requested to be present.

John B. Howe C. D. Y. Alexander
John P. Jones Robert Parrot

John P. Jones Robert Parrot

Barrister and Yourself. as the

Barnister and Yourself. As the time is too limited for us to send invitations to each person, will you do us the favor of notifying the above named parties that we shall be pleased to see them on that occasion. I shall send a copy of this letter to C. D. Alexander requesting him to cooperate with you in sending

word to the parties named herein
I trust it will be convenient for
all of you to be present as it is
intended to have a good time
Harris, Ellis & others of London
Millions, Thralls & others of Warsaw
will be present.

Trusting your presence.

Yours truly
Sol. H. Gayles
Sol. D. Payless
W. H. Withers
W. H. L. L. L.
& W. D. Stewart
Committee

John Hough, Jr. Copy
Attorney and Counsellor at Law
Fort Wayne, Ind.
Will Practice and attend to the collecting of Claims,
in the several Counties of Northern Indiana.

-----References-----

A.T. Stewart & Co. N.Y.	Barcroft, Beaver & Co. Philadelphia
Stone, Starr & Co. "	Fithian, Jones & Co. "
Frothingham, Newell & Co. N.Y.	Levick, Raisin & Co. "
J.H. Ransom & Co. N.Y.	Bullitt & Fairthorne "
Ingolsby, Halsted & Co. N.Y.	Buckner, Hall & Co. Cincinnati
Spofford, Tieson & Co. N.Y.	Worthington & Co. "
Chase, McKinney & Co. Boston	Huntington & Brooks "
Stoddard & Lovering Boston	Tweed & Andrews "
P. & J. P. Hawes, Boston	C. Ihmsen & Co. Pittsburg

Fort Wayne, Indiana October 18, 1858

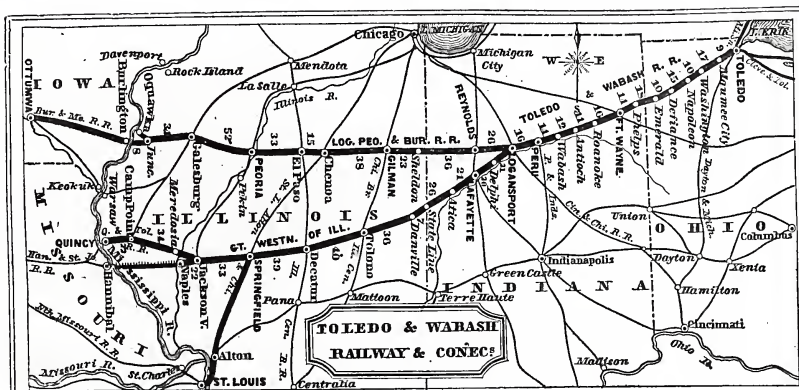
S.O. Williams, Esq.
Lima, Ind.

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As the time is limited for us to send invitations to each person will you do us the favor of notifying the above named parties that we shall be pleased to see them on that occasion. I shall send a copy of this letter to C.D.G. Alexander requesting him to cooperate with you in sending word to the parties named herein. I trust it will be convenient for all of you to be present as it is intended to have a good time. How is, Ellis & others of Goshen Williams, Thrall & others of Warsaw will be present.

Trusting your presence

Yours Truly
John Hough Jr.
Sol. D. Bayless
W.H. Withers
W.H. Briant
O.W.D. Stewart Committee



[ADVERTISEMENT.]

THE TOLEDO AND WABASH RAILWAY, with its immediate connections, the GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY of Illinois, the QUINCY and TOLEDO RAILWAY, and the LOGANSPORT, PEORIA and BURLINGTON RAILWAY, though under separate organizations, are so combined together in interest, as to form one united line, commencing at the terminus of the Lake Shore Line in Toledo, and terminating on the Mississippi at Burlington, Quincy and St. Louis.

A glance at the Map will show that the geographical position of this Line for the business it claims is unrivaled. Traversing the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois in a south-westerly direction, it intersects the principal thoroughfares of that region, affording connections always reliable, since from the superior directness of this Line its trains must always arrive at the crossing-places in advance.

The trains of this Line, leaving the Union Depot at Toledo on arrival of trains from the Lake Shore Road, and from Detroit, make the following connections:

At Fort Wayne, with the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railway, to and from Pittsburg, Philadelphia and Baltimore.

At *Peru*, with the Peru and Indianapolis Railway, for Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Louisville, Ky., and Nashville.

At Logansport, the Logansport, Peoria and Burlington Railway diverges.

At Lafayette, with the Louisville, N. Albany and Chicago Railway, and with the Lafayette and Indianapolis, affording the most direct line from Columbus, Indianapolis, and Cincinnati to Oulney and St. Joseph.

At *Tolono*, with the Chicago Branch, and at *Decatur* with the Main Line of the Illinois Central Railway, for Cairo, Memphis, Vicks-

At *Springfield*, with the Chicago, Alton and St. Louis Railway, for

At Quincy, by the Quincy and Palmyra Railway. Direct connection

A. BOODY, Pres., New York City. W. COLBURN, Vice-Pres.; GEO. H. BURROWS, Gen. Supt.; and J. E. CARPENTER, Cashier and Gen. Ticket Agent, Toledo. [Nov. 22.]

L. TILTON, Pres. Gt. Western R. R., Springfield, Ill.
J. R. JESUP, Pres. Quincy & Tol. R. R., New York.
THOS. L. KNAP, Gen. Supt., Springfield, Ill.
E. C. SMITH, Gen. Freight Agent, " "
L. R. KIMBALL, Gen. Ticket Ag't, " "
D. E. WILLIAMS, Asst. Supt., Quincy, Ill.
H. L. SUFFHEAD, Master of Trans. [Dec. 27.]

[Dec. 27.

12	35	12	10	0	Toledo	243	4	10	4	20
1	63	12	35	9	Maumee City	294	3	50	3	55
1	23	12	35	17	Whitehouse	226	3	32	3	30
1	47	1	20	26	Washington	217	8	10	3	35
1	15	1	50	36	Napoleon	207	2	43	2	35
2	33	2	07	42	Adams	191	2	33	2	16
3	00	2	35	51	Defiance	192	2	05	1	50
3	25	8	00	61	Emerald	182	1	40	1	23
3	55	8	33	72	Antwerp	171	1	12	12	55
4	17	8	55	80	Phelps	163	12	50	12	05
4	48	4	22	88	New Haven	153	12	28	12	30

[illegible]

Through Fare, \$— . Way Fares, about 8 cents
Per mile.

☛ *Trains are run by Chicago Time.*

¹ Connects with Cleveland & Toledo; Dayton & Michigan; Detroit, Monroe & Toledo; and Nor. Ind. Air Line Railways.

¹ Connects with Pittsburg, Fort Wayne & Chicago Railway.

³ Connects with Peru & Indianapolis Railway.

⁴ Connects with Toledo, Logansport & Burlington Railway.


Connects with Cincinnati & Chicago Air-Line
Railway.

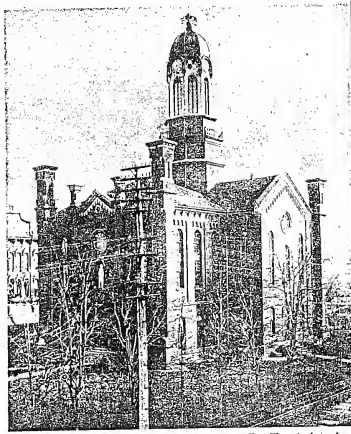
¹ Crossing of Louisville, New Albany & Chicago

Connects with Great Western Railway.

Through Fare, \$— . Way Fares, about 3 cents per mile.

+ Tho 4 10 p. m. train from Quakwam, Wash.,
Saturdays excepted; all other trains daily, Sundays
excepted.

 For Connection with other Roads, see opposite page.



WHERE LINCOLN WAS HANGED — Lincoln was not Fort Wayne's choice for the presidency and a straw figure of the Emancipator was hanged in effigy here during a campaign visit of Stephen A. Douglas on Oct. 2, 1860. But all this was before Fort Sumter. The building is the old courthouse.

WHEN TEST CAME:

Anti-Lincoln City Strong For Union

After the fall of Fort Sumter, patriotism saturated the veins of Fort Wayneans like rare old wine. It was a strange reaction for a community which had tossed an effigy of Abe Lincoln into the St. Marys River during a political rally Oct. 2, 1860.

But when the test came, Allen County and Fort Wayne joined to supply their share as many men as the first Indiana call might require. "Black Republicans" the crowd had shouted when Stephen A. Douglas came to Fort Wayne in his campaign against the "traitor of the Sanguin."

During the rally, a huge bonfire was kindled to represent Lincoln, and his name was used to move it to the back of the river, where it was derisively rolled into the water.

Douglas headed the parade in the family carriage of Fredric Mullinger and for two hours the throng passed by the old courthouse. When a float carrying the "Black Republicans" halted before the home of a solid abolitionist, the wife came out and the porch "most civility" and with angry words raised her fist against the "treasonable." Mrs. Jessie K. Roberts, noted Fort Wayne historian and author reports from her research.

Douglas spoke on the east bank of the river near the old Methodist College. At one point, other things, he declared "why cannot this nation, entire, support the fathers made it divided into free states and slave states with the right on the net of each to have slavery as long as it chooses?"

A Straw Figure

And that night a straw figure of Abraham Lincoln was hanged to the effigy on the courthouse square.

Allen County cast 1,254 votes for Lincoln, 1,231 for Lincoln, 42 for Breckinridge, and 23 for Bell.

And when the fever of the election had passed, leading citizens gathered at Courthouse Hill on Columbus Street to affirm their support of the Lincoln government. "Indiana for the Union — first last and always" was the slogan adopted.

The gathering represented all classes and political beliefs. On April 15, 1861, three days after Fort Sumter was fired upon, Mayor Randall called a mass meeting at Holmes Hall to clarify the community's position in the national crisis.

Allen Hamilton and Jesse L. Williams were elected chairmen of a civic group and Warren H. Wilcox secretary. A resolution committee composed of Mr. Samuel Hanna, Hugh B. Reed, Joseph Breckinridge, P. B. Hargrett and Lott S. Blythes

our national affairs. They should be one party in the State of Indiana, and that party should stand pledged before the country in support and aid. By all means in its power, the committee at administration, entering candidates for the year preserving the public property and maintaining the honor of the flag."

It was here that Allen County pledged to make the state one for fighting men.

With their names heading as many lists, Sen. William H. Link, Capt. George Humphrey and Capt. William P. Reed began the enrollment of volunteers. Enrollment officers were set up, including one in the Washburn and Erie Canal revenue of day.

The first local troops in the field were those of Ch. Z. Math

Indiana Volunteers under Capt. Scott. They saw action at Palmyra, W. Va. on June 1 of that year and at Jackson and Carroll's Ford. Henry W. Lawson was the orderly sergeant of Co. E.

Five days after the shells exploded over Fort Sumter, another patriotic demonstration was held at the Washburn Railroad when where a flag was raised, to remain for the duration of the war.

The First Troops Leave For Battle

The fourth of July came and the departure of local troops was the incentive for another public gathering. Hugh McClelland was the orator, Samuel Edzell marshal of the parade, and in the line of march were the Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad artillery company, the St. Joe Engineers, the Washington Indians and all existing fire companies.

Military units formed at the start of hostilities here the names of Capt. George Hamilton and Capt. George

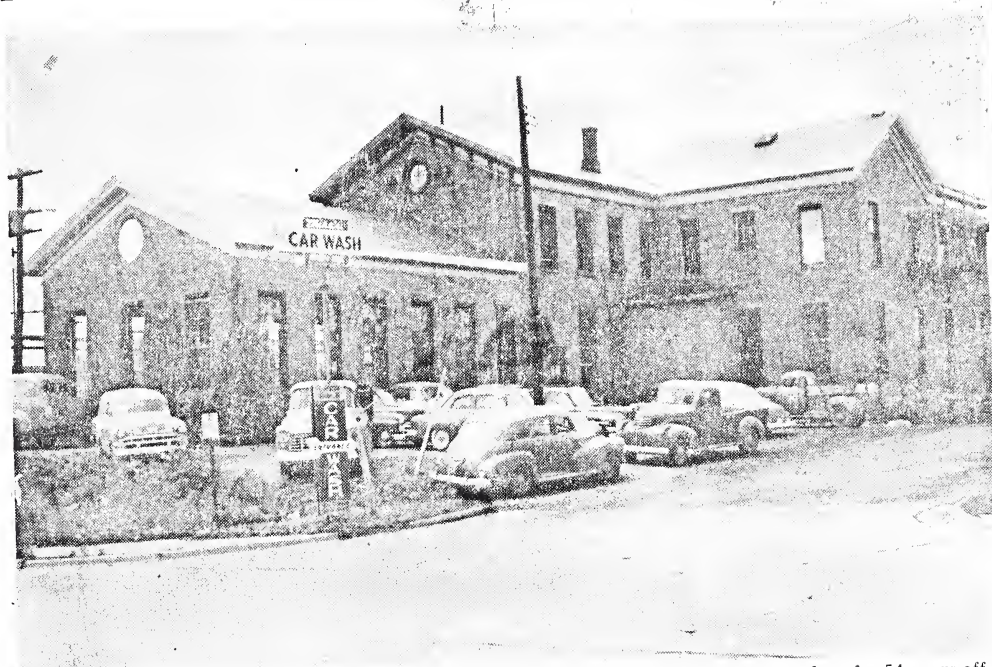
Continued On Page 11
Humphrey, Capt. W. E. Link, Capt. Orin B. Reed, the Fort Wayne Battery, the George's Franklinton, La. Henry W. Lawson, Lt. E. B. Bradley, Capt. J. M. Williams and Capt. Trenchell. The names recorded with them only said they had been assigned to field service.

The area recruiting center was established at Camp Allen, opposite the present Indiana Park. Organized here were the 30th Regiment under Col. Sam L. Bass on Aug. 26, 1861; 11th Indiana Infantry, Col. John A. Hargrett on Nov. 25, 1861; the 11th Regiment, organized in 1862 under Col. Thomas Morgan; the 8th Regiment, summer of 1862, Col. George Humphrey; the 10th Regiment, Col. Samuel J. Shugart and the 12th Indiana Battery, both in 1862.

That was the meaning of Fort Sumter, a tragedy for which had cast its position but with Stephen A. Douglas!

FORT WAYNE JOURNAL-GAZETTE

Sunday, September 26, 1965



BOWS TO PROGRESS—The city's first railroad 'passenger and eating house', a busy place for 54 years off the 100 block East Baker Street, will be leveled soon to make way for new enterprise. Wing to the right which housed kitchen has been removed. The building encouraged the growth of the city southward. Sidney Pepe Photo.

Sparked City's Growth

Historic Pennsy Station Bows Soon To Progress

The city's first enduring railroad station, never actually divorced from transportation for more than a century, will be erased from the downtown scene this fall or next spring.

Significant in other ways, this old landmark has been part of an automotive cluster for over 20 years—it's south of the center of the 100 block East Baker Street facing the bank of the Pennsylvania elevation. (Cont.)

The tracks, now elevated, used to run level with its door steps. The 105-year-old building was influencing the growth of Fort Wayne when Baker Street was known as Chestnut Street.

Since 1944 the two-story brick structure and the land on which it stands has been owned by C. A. Grieger, Inc., and two years later, after some structural abbreviations, its conversion to automotive activity was begun. Presently it houses a body shop and an area for the reconditioning of used cars.

Owners are not anxious to see the old structure go but elsewhere, jaundiced eyes have been turned upon its Civil War era framing.

Likely it will resist the efforts of the wreckers much the same as the old Civic (Majestic) Theater which had been rated as a hazard for some years before it was battered down. In such old buildings, the flooring joists have a tendency to dry out and shrink away from the wall-notches which anchor them. It was this shrinkage which doomed the old theater building just around the corner from City Hall.

A Stairway Shows The Wear And Tear

Erected in 1860 (additions to the main building came later) the station served the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad and its successor, the Pennsylvania, for a total of 54 years. The wear and tear of feet upon its flooring ceased in 1914 when the present Pennsy station was built. For years after, it served the railroad as a catch-all, particularly for files, records and documents.

This was the most imposing structure viewed by President Lincoln when a night train stopped briefly in the city. It was built as a "Passenger and Eating House" and sported a dining room 30 by 80 feet. In the days before the dining cars, trains stopped here for the refreshment of passengers.

As far as history reveals, this was the Civil War President's only acquaintance with Fort Wayne. Legend has described him as a lonely man, waiting on a lonely railroad platform in dead of night. But this place beside the rails was quiet neither day nor night.

Roy M. Bates, Allen County Historian, believes the President was en route east from Chicago. Likely, his private car was a part of the train.

More pertinently, the brick depot encouraged Fort Wayne business to move southward from Columbia Street as railroad traffic increased and took patronage away from the Wabash & Erie Canal. There had been cornfields south of Wayne

Street and the beginning of a trail that meandered toward Cincinnati.

When the Ohio & Indiana Railroad and the Fort Wayne & Chicago Railroad joined in Fort Wayne to become the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago Railroad, the original station, a humble wooden structure, was built tantalizingly close to the canal docks, near what is now the City Rescue Mission, then a hotel. The tracks ran north on Lafayette Street and west on Columbia to Barr Street. The first excursion party to reach the city by rail distastefully walked in mud over their shootups to view Columbia Street shops.

The shuttling of passenger traffic to Columbia Street, then the city's main stem, became a nuisance as rail travel boomed, and the brick terminal was built. The land for the station was conveyed to the railroad company by Allen Hamilton.

For several years, the passenger station handled traffic for both the Pittsburgh and Wabash Railroads — the latter road had no passenger facilities in the city.

The train schedules were uncertain and James K. McCracken, who became station agent in 1863, slept in the building so he would be available when the trains arrived.

McCracken admitted a hectic existence — not infrequently, Wabash trains reached the city a day late!

If it could have been transplanted in time, the building might have developed into a fashionable gathering place; Ken E. Burris, Grieger general manager, suggested. He pointed out the grace of its multi-pane windows and the fine wainscoting that once graced the spacious dining room.

A Winding Stairs With Fine Touches

There is a winding stairway to the second floor which despite the careless antiquing of years, retains some touches of rare craftsmanship.

The steps are deeply worn and are a lonely reminder of the heavy flow of life through this early railroad port.

As its automotive experience began, alterations to the station house were necessary. A small wing extending north from the center of the main building, once the kitchen and pantry, was removed, along with the east end of the main building which housed offices. In the west wing were private waiting rooms for ladies and gentlemen, a ticket office and baggage room.

The men's washroom offered the luxury of 10 basins; the women's had only four, indicating their lesser patronage of the railroads.

Local officials of the railroad had their offices in the west wing and the higher echelon, including the superintendent, used the second floor.

Upstairs there is a door with a frosted glass and the word "Private" etched in surprisingly small letters. The pane still frowns away intruders and Burris mused "you can vision people knocking on this door with great trepidation."

Some of the brass door hardware has weathered the years surprisingly well, functioning as though time had kept them well-oiled.

The old building has seen its share of happy arrivals, sad farewells, borsome weariness, grime and sharp anticipation.

Benches on the porch of the Allen County — Fort Wayne Historical Society Museum came from one of its waiting rooms, they say.

Along the front of the building, which now faces the abrupt earthen wall of the elevation, there was once a porch-like shelter about 30 feet wide to protect passengers moving to and from trains.

Between the old building and Baker Street is an alley once known as Railroad Street; it introduced debarking passengers to the growing city.

The blistered and tattered

(cont.)

walls of the "passenger house" could tell a fabulous story of the people who moved between Chicago, Pittsburgh and points east. There is no longer such excitement, and when Burris suddenly opened a side door, the stale breath of the years greeted visitors.

For over half a century this was a place where countless people responding to all the duties and emotions of mankind met only to rub elbows in passing; the building was only a way-station along the path of their pursuits. The change of pace since its separation from the railroad has

left a doleful mark, so typical of lonely people, too. But its joints remain tight against the weather.

Until it goes, the old "Passenger and Eating House" will mark the change of a transportation cycle as the automobile began to make a withering impact upon railroad passenger service.

And strangely enough, its declining years have been devoted to the automobile — a machine that easily brings people together across great distances and makes strangers across the street.

INDIANA STATE LIBRARY

140 North Senate Avenue
INDIANAPOLIS, 4

October 5, 1965

R. Gerald McMurtry, Director
The Lincoln National Life Foundation
1301 South Harrison Street
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801

Dear Mr. McMurtry,

Upon consulting the original returns made by the County Clerks to the Secretary of State, the following number of votes were found for the presidential elections of November 1860 and November 1864 in Allen County, Indiana.

November 1860

Presidential Electors Cyrus L. Dunham, John C. Walker, etc. each received 322½ votes. (For Douglas).

Presidential Electors Will Cumback, John L. Mansfield, etc. each received 2552 votes. (For Lincoln). I checked this one very carefully, because your figure was 2522.

Presidential Electors J. E. Blythe, William K. Edwards, etc. each received 32 votes. (For Bell). In the returns, the first two electors received 27 votes, but the eleven others received 32 votes, so I suppose that 32 is the correct number.

James Morrison, Delana R. Eckels, etc. each received 42 votes. (For Breckinridge).

The above returns were sent to the Secretary of State by I. D. G. Nelson, Allen County Clerk.

November 1864

Presidential Electors John Pettit, Simeon H. (or K.) Wolfe, etc. each received 4932 votes. (Democratic Party).

Presidential Electors David S. Gooding, Richard W. Thompson, etc. each received 2244 votes. (Republican Party).

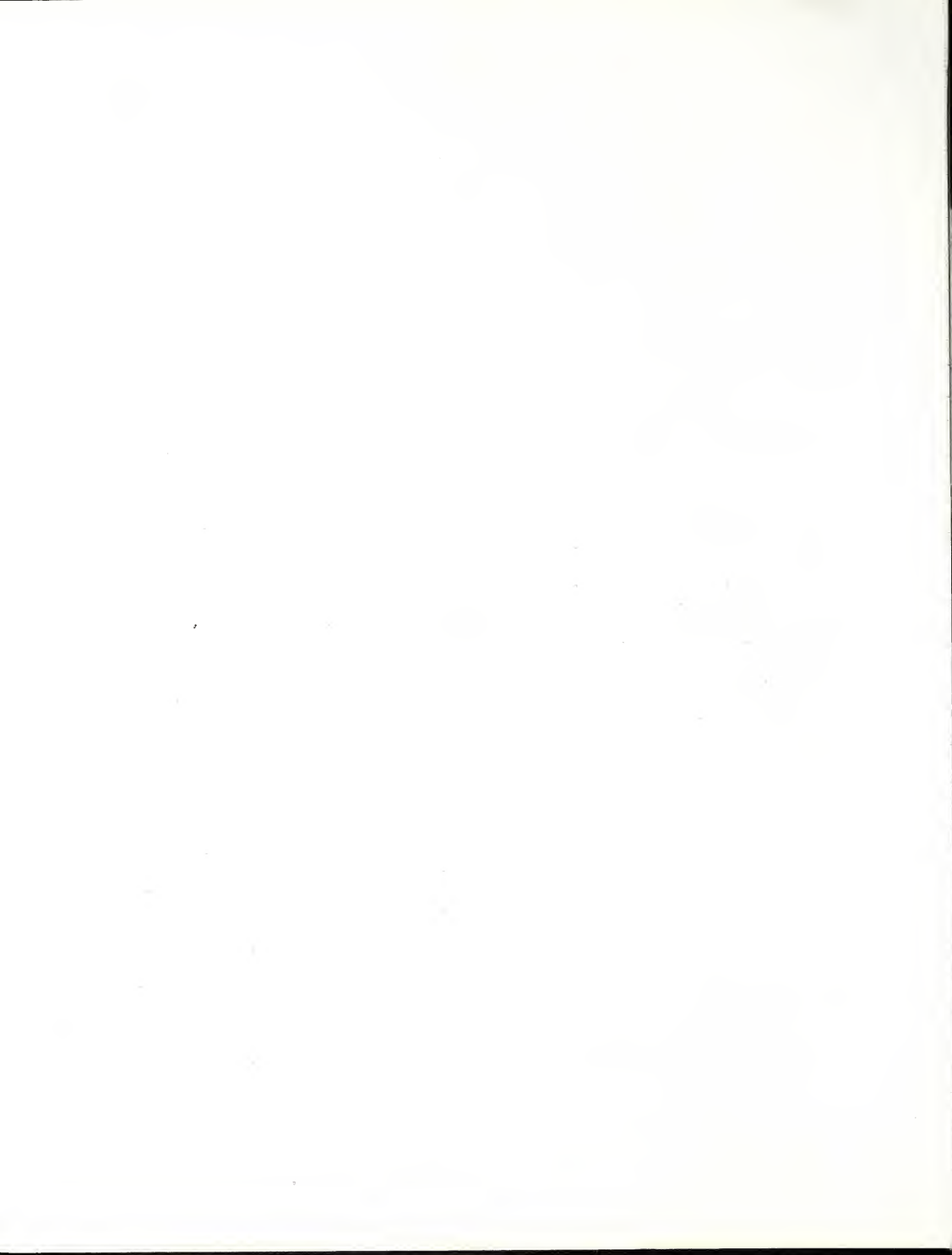
There were no other parties named in the 1864 returns.

These returns were sent in by William Fleming, Allen County Clerk.

No names of parties or candidates were given; just presidential electors. According to Stoll's History of the Indiana Democracy, 1816-1916, John Pettit was a Democrat, so I have inferred that Gooding was a Republican.

Sincerely yours,

L. G. Meldrum
L. G. Meldrum
Assistant Archivist



Fort Wayne's Contacts With
Abraham Lincoln

by
R. Gerald McMurtry



Fort Wayne's Contacts With Abraham Lincoln

By

R. Gerald McMurtry, Director

Lincoln Library-Museum

of

The Lincoln National Life Foundation, Inc.

Public Library of Fort Wayne and Allen County
1966

Board of Trustees of the Fort Wayne Public Library

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Allan J. Tremper, Vice-President
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Mrs. Mark Knoblauch

Public Library Board for Allen County

The members of this Board include the members of the Board of Trustees of the Fort Wayne Public Library (with the same officers) together with the following citizens chosen from Allen County outside the corporate city of Fort Wayne.

Mrs. Frank Dulin
James E. Graham
Gerald W. Morsches
Mrs. Charles Reynolds

Although Abraham Lincoln resided in Indiana for a period of fourteen years (1816-1830), it is hardly likely that as a youth living in the southern part of the state he ever had occasion to hear about or refer to the then budding village of Fort Wayne.

Lincoln did have occasion to mention Fort Wayne in a speech on the "Presidential Question" made before the United States House of Representatives on July 27, 1848. The address bore the subtitle: "General Taylor and The Veto." Delivered in a politically sarcastic but humorous vein, Congressman Lincoln's address was an attack on General Lewis Cass whom the Democrat politicians were grooming for the Presidency. In dealing with Cass' many charges against the public treasury, Lincoln mentioned his opponent's excessive fees as Superintendent of Indian Affairs which included the agencies at Piqua, Ohio; Fort Wayne, Indiana; and Chicago, Illinois.

So far as is known, this is the only time Lincoln ever mentioned Fort Wayne in a speech, and apparently no other letter is extant, or perhaps ever existed, in which the addressee was a resident of Fort Wayne.

For many years the staff of the Library-Museum of the Lincoln National Life Foundation searched unsuccessfully for some record of a visit by Lincoln to Fort Wayne. Perhaps this search would have been forever futile had not a newspaper correspondent in search of material for his "One Hundred Years Ago" column discovered a six line news item in Dawson's Daily News of Fort Wayne for February 23, 1860. The brief notice is significant:

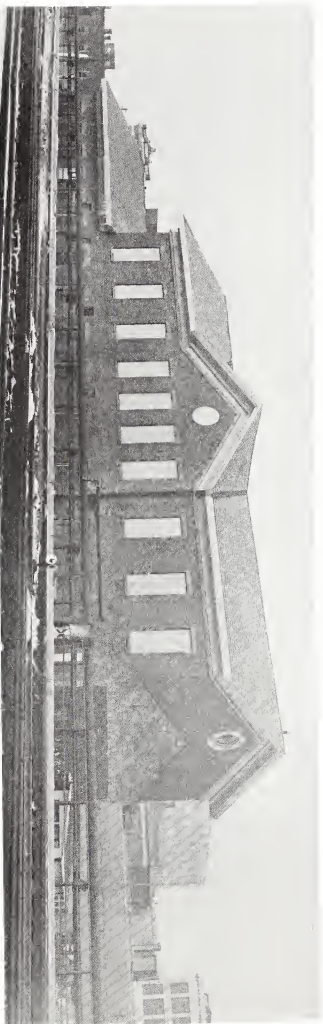
"Hon. Abe Lincoln and wife came from the West this morning at 1 o'clock, on the T.W. & W.R.R., and changing cars at this city, went east. 'Old Abe' looked as if his pattern had been a mighty ugly one."

The discovery of the Dawson Daily News item will necessitate the re-writing of history so far as this significant event in the life of Lincoln is concerned. Earlier biographers and historians were of the opinion that Lincoln traveled to the East from Chicago, Illinois, over the Pennsylvania Railroad or its connecting lines for Philadelphia. With the wrong route in mind Lincoln biographers have gone so far as to suggest that while in Chicago Lincoln left his Cooper Union Address manuscript for correction with Joseph Medill and Charles H. Ray, editors of the Tribune. This error was further compounded many years later when Medill, speaking as a guest of honor at a dinner in the nation's Capital, was reported by The Washington Post to have said, in reference to the purported incident, that he made "about 40 changes" in the Lincoln Address manuscript. Medill also was reported to have said that ". . . the others to whom the address had been submitted were equally careful, and they made several amendments." Medill was also quoted as having said that "when the speech was finally delivered, it was exactly word for word with the original copy which Lincoln gave us."

Lincoln's Cooper Union Address was one of the most significant speeches of his political career. Its delivery in New York City, along with subsequent speeches that he delivered in New England, made it possible for him to receive the nomination for the Presidency on the Republican ticket in May of 1860.

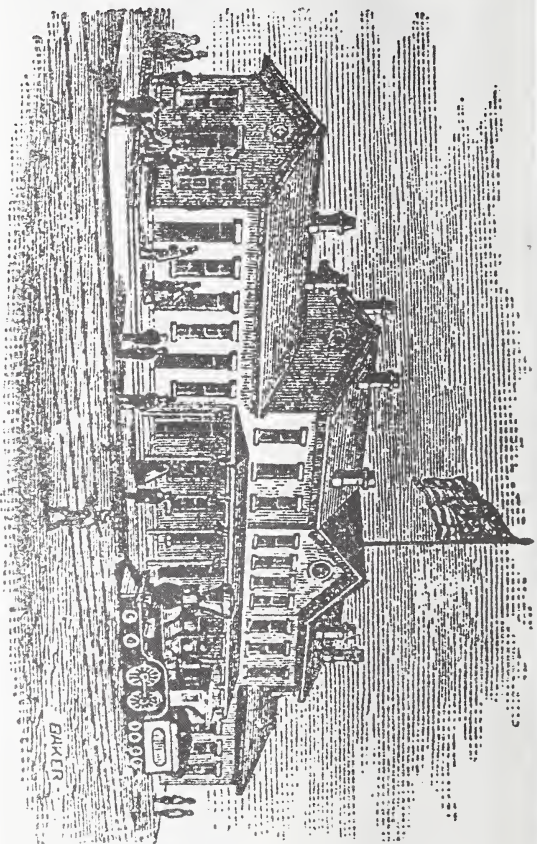
With many speaking engagements to fill, Lincoln hoped to return to Springfield on Monday, March 12th, but he found this schedule impossible. Leaving New York City over the Erie Road he boarded the Toledo, Wabash and Western train at Toledo on Tuesday, March 13th, and he passed through Fort Wayne at 5:20 P.M. This time there was no Dawson Daily News man at the railroad station to report the movement of this now distinguished visitor. Lincoln arrived in Springfield at 6:50 A.M. Wednesday morning, March 14th.

The only building in Fort Wayne associated with Lincoln is the old Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago railway station constructed in the year 1858. It is located south of the center of the 100 block of East Baker Street facing the bank of the Pennsylvania elevation. Now the property of C. A. Grieger, Inc. the structure will be razed this fall or next spring. This hurried round-trip through Indiana did not afford Lincoln very many opportunities to recall familiar scenes or to make important contacts with Hoosier



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

The Pittsburgh, Chicago & Fort Wayne Railway Station (as it appears today) where Lincoln changed trains in Fort Wayne on February 23, 1860. Constructed in 1858, this building (except for one wing) is still standing, but it will be razed this fall or next spring by its owners, C. A. Grieger, Inc. (Note a portion of the home office building of the Lincoln National Life Insurance Company at the immediate right.)



From Griswold's "Pictorial History of Fort Wayne."
Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad Station constructed in 1858.

politicians. However, never had a journey been more profitable for a budding presidential candidate than this trip to New York City to deliver the Cooper Union speech.

While Lincoln visited Fort Wayne on only one (round-trip) occasion, a great many legends and traditions about Lincoln and his campaigns for the Presidency have been related by older citizens of the city and community. The Journal-Gazette of February 13, 1942 published a story about a ninety year old Kendallville, Indiana man named P. A. Waldron who recalled "that the great emancipator once smiled at him and patted his shoulder at a Fort Wayne railway station where the President's train had stopped a few minutes while en route from Chicago to Washington."

Although the late Mr. Waldron's reminiscences are somewhat garbled in relation to the established facts, it is possible that he might have seen Lincoln catch the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago train at 1:12 A.M. (Thursday) on February 23, 1860. Such a statement, however, is puzzling because Lincoln in February 1860 had hardly assumed the role of "Great Emancipator" or affected the "Father Abraham" image.

The local political accounts of the Presidential campaign of 1860 reveal that Fort Wayne was a Stephen A. Douglas town and was rather boisterous in the support of its favorite candidate. Several years ago the oral reminiscences of George W. Stover, an early resident of Ossian and Fort Wayne, were written down and made available to the Foundation by his daughter-in-law, Mrs. James Stover, 4516 Smith Street, of this city. They follow:

"Back in 1860 the Rockhill House was Fort Wayne's newest hotel. The first one was the Hediken House on Barr Street. We knew the Rockhill House as the old part of the St. Joseph Hospital, at the corner of Main & Broadway. Perhaps, you will remember that a little iron balcony extended over Main Street. (This building was torn down to make way for the new section of the Hospital.)

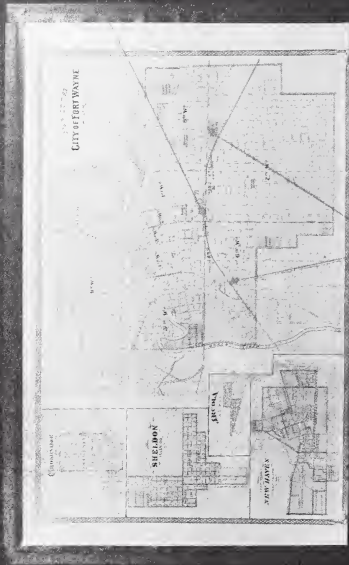
"Stephen A. Douglas came to Fort Wayne in 1860, campaigning against Lincoln. He stayed at the Rockhill House and made a five minute speech from that balcony. Later his 'Speech of the day' was made on the banks of the River just south of the Main Street bridge, where bleachers were built to take care of the crowd. That was a gala day!

"Father Stover was a small boy then. He often told us the story. His foster father brought him all the way from Bluffton over the old plank road. They started long before dawn so that they'd arrive in time for the parade.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S ONLY VISIT TO FORT WAYNE, IND.

was when he was enroute to New York city to deliver the Cooper Union Address...

FEBRUARY 23, 1860



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation Exhibit
in the Lincoln Life's Library-Museum giving details
of Abraham Lincoln's only visit to Fort Wayne, Indiana.

"It was a wonderful parade! It started at the Courthouse and went all the way to the Main Street bridge. Bands played, and all the people applauded Stephen A. Douglas. Somewhere about half way along the line of march, there was a great commotion and a float broke into the parade. It was a huge hay-wagon, and on it was a tall, lanky young man dressed to represent Abe Lincoln, and he was splitting rails. The float was so clever and realistic that it was stealing the show. Of course, it moved very slowly as it was drawn by two teams of oxen. Something must be done as it was breaking the parade in two.

"Main Street was a narrow grass grown road. The float moved so slowly, and the road was so narrow that the rest of the parade could not pass it. But, the grass helped to solve the problem. Some enterprising person thought of salt, and sprinkled it on the grass beside the road. The oxen pulled out of line of the parade to lick the salt, and no amount of urging could get them to move on. The parade moved on to its destination where the Speech was to be made, and quite a political rally took place. It turned out to be Stephen Douglas' day, . . . but as we all remember, Lincoln was successful and at the inaugurations became our President."

Other stories have been related about that October 2nd day in 1860 when Douglas came to Fort Wayne in his canvass against the "Railsplitter of the Sangamon." It is said that on this occasion a huge sawlog, intended to represent Abraham Lincoln, was flung into the St. Mary's River as a defiant gesture of derision against the Republican candidate. Apparently, the sawlog was a part of a political float which was intended as a challenge to the "Black Republicans." However, it is said that only one protest was made. That occurred when the float halted before the house of a rabid abolitionist whose wife came out on the porch "most unwisely . . . and with angry words raised her fist against this provocation."

The boisterous political activity continued all day in Fort Wayne, and "at sunset there was a hue and cry, 'Everybody to the Court House.'" This time a straw figure of Abraham Lincoln was hanged in effigy.

On November 6, 1860, election day, the people of Allen County and Fort Wayne voted. The results, ignoring the technicality that the ballots were cast for Presidential electors, were 3,224 votes for Douglas; 2,552 for Lincoln; 42 for Breckinridge; and 32 for Bell. These returns were sent to the Secretary of State by I. D. G. Nelson, Allen County Clerk.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Hugh McCulloch: Cashier and Manager of the Fort Wayne Branch of the State Bank of Indiana, 1835-56; President of State Bank of Indiana, 1856-63; Comptroller of Currency, 1863-65; U.S. Secretary of Treasury 1865-69 (1884-85), and author of "Men and Measures of Half a Century," 1888.

It was Hugh McCulloch, a prominent Indiana banker, who summarized for the people of Fort Wayne, in an address delivered on July 4, 1861, the significance of the November 1860 election:

"The election of Lincoln, a sectional candidate, was of itself an evidence of the deep-rooted hostility of the North to slavery, and rendered the continuance of the Southern States in the Union dishonorable and dangerous to them.

"But the election of Lincoln would not probably have occurred but for the course of the ultraists in breaking up the Charleston convention, and the intelligence of his election was received with rapturous delight by those who pretended to regard it as a calamity. Mr. Douglas gave it as his opinion that the same game would have been played if he had been the successful candidate.

"Lincoln was elected in conformity with the Constitution. It would, at all events, have been prudent, not to say patriotic, on the part of his opponents at the South if they had, as they pretended to have a reverence for the Constitution and a regard for the Union, to have awaited the developments of his administration, and if any demonstrations were made by him or his party against their interests, to have held them in check by their majority in the Senate and the expressed opinions of the Supreme Court before taking extreme measures to protect those interests against imaginary dangers. . . ."

McCulloch delivered this address in Fort Wayne when an intense war feeling among its citizens was thoroughly aroused, and when great indignation was felt against the Southern States.

With the advent of the Civil War Lincoln gained popularity with Hoosier voters, even though Fort Wayne remained a Democratic city. On November 7, 1864 Indiana contributed to Lincoln's sweeping national victory by giving him a 20,000 majority over General George B. McClellan, the Democratic standard bearer. Fort Wayne's vote, however, was 2244 for (Union-Republican Presidential electors) Lincoln and 4932 for (Democratic Presidential electors) McClellan. These returns were sent to the Secretary of State by William Fleming, the Allen County Clerk.

While Lincoln had little contact with Fort Wayne, he did name a citizen of the city, Hugh McCulloch, as a member of his Cabinet. McCulloch, born in 1808 at Kennebunk, Maine, moved to Fort Wayne as a young man. In one of his addresses delivered in Fort Wayne on October 11, 1865, McCulloch made the statement that "No place will ever be so dear to me as Fort Wayne; no friendships will ever be so strong as those which I have formed here. I

am, you know, one of the pioneers of this beautiful city. When I crossed the St. Mary's, swimming my horse by a side of a canoe, on the 23rd of June, 1833, Fort Wayne was a hamlet, containing a few hundred souls; an Indian trading post, a mere dot of civilization in the heart of a magnificent wilderness. Under my own eye, as it were, it has become a city of nearly twenty thousand people, a city full of vigor and enterprise, the second city of the State. I am proud of Fort Wayne and of the noble State of Indiana--a State which has been second to no State in the Union in her devotion to the Government and in the gallantry with which her sons have defended it. I am thankful when I crossed the mountains, in common parlance, 'to seek my fortune,' my feet were directed to Indiana, and especially to this place. Wherever duty may call me hereafter, this will ever be to me my home. Many of my kindred sleep in our beautiful cemetery, and there, I trust, will be my resting-place when I am called upon to join the great company of the departed."

Practicing first as a lawyer and then winning considerable distinction as an Indiana banker, McCulloch was asked by Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase, in March of 1863 to serve as Comptroller of the Currency. Accepting the position, McCulloch remained in charge of the National banking system until March 1865.

On March 5, 1865 Lincoln had an interview with McCulloch and asked him to take the post of Secretary of the Treasury. Chase had resigned the Treasury portfolio in 1864 to become Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and W. P. Fessenden, his successor, had resigned the Cabinet position at the beginning of Lincoln's second term. McCulloch accepted the post and remained in that position until March 1869. It is of interest to note, however, that in October 1884, at the age of seventy-six, McCulloch was requested by President Chester A. Arthur to resume the position of Secretary of the Treasury to succeed W. O. Gresham who resigned. McCulloch held the post until the end of the Arthur Administration.

In his book, "Men and Measures of Half A Century," Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888, McCulloch related in detail his interview with President Lincoln:

"A day or two after his second inauguration, Mr. Lincoln requested me, by one of his messengers, to call upon him at the White House at some time during the day, which I did in the afternoon. He was alone, and as he took my hand, he said: 'I have sent for you, Mr. McCulloch, to let you know that I want you to be Secretary of the Treasury, and if you do not object to it, I shall send

your name to the Senate.' I was taken all aback by this sudden and unexpected announcement. It was an office that I had not aspired to, and did not desire. I knew how arduous and difficult the duties of the head of that department were, and a place had been offered to me in New York which it would be greatly for my interest to accept. I hesitated for a moment, and then replied: 'I thank you, Mr. President, heartily for this mark of your confidence, and I should be glad to comply with your wishes if I did not distrust my ability to do what will be required of the Secretary of the Treasury in the existing financial condition of the Government.' 'I will be responsible for that,' said the President. 'I will be responsible for that, and so I reckon we will consider the matter settled.' The President seemed to be greatly careworn, but he was cheerful, and after a brief talk with him I returned to my office and said nothing to any one about the interview. I was, I confess, gratified by being asked to take the most important place in the Government, but I was troubled as I thought of its duties and responsibilities. I could not say which feeling predominated--gratification or dread. The next day my nomination was sent to the Senate, and was, as I understood, unanimously confirmed.

"I may say here that I found the office a very laborious and thankless one. I gave my entire time to its duties, I was not away from it more than twenty days during the whole term (four years) which I held it, frequently working by night as well as by day. I was subject to the most liberal abuse in the Senate and the House, and to some extent by the press; and yet I was never sorry that I accepted the post. Responsibility I did not shrink from--hard work agreed with me--and the causeless abuse even of Senators did not disturb me. In looking back after so many years upon my administration of the Treasury, I can think of no recommendation which I made to Congress that did not merit favorable consideration; of no official act which I would recall."

As mentioned before, McCulloch delivered an address in Fort Wayne on October 11, 1865 during the course of which he eulogized the martyred President:

"Of Mr. Lincoln this is not a fitting occasion for me to speak freely. This much, however, I may be permitted to say, that the more I saw of him the higher became my admiration of his ability and his character. Before I went to Washington, and for a short period after, I doubted both his nerve and his statesmanship; but a

closer observation relieved me of these doubts, and long before his death I had come to the conclusion that he was a man of will, of energy, of well-balanced mind, and wonderful sagacity. His practice of story-telling when the Government seemed to be in imminent peril and the sublimest events were transpiring surprised, if it did not sometimes disgust, those who did not know him well; but it indicated on his part no want of a proper appreciation of the terrible responsibility which rested upon him as the chief magistrate of a great nation engaged in the suppression of a desperate rebellion which threatened its overthrow. Story-telling with him was something more than a habit. He was so accustomed to it in social life and in the practice of his profession that it became a part of his nature, and so accurate was his recollection, and so great a fund had he at command, that he had always anecdotes and stories to illustrate his arguments and delight those whose tastes were similar to his own; but those who judged from this trait that he had lacked deep feeling, or sound judgment, or a proper sense of the responsibility of his position, had no just appreciation of his character. He possessed all these qualities in an eminent degree. It was true of him, as it is true of all really noble and good men, that those who knew him best had the highest admiration of him. He was not a man of genius, but he possessed in a large degree what is far more valuable in a public man, excellent common sense. He did not seem to gain this knowledge from reading or from observation, for he read very few of our public journals, and was little inclined to call out the opinions of others. He was a representative of the people, and he understood what the people desired rather by a study of himself than of them. Granting that, although constitutionally honest himself, he did not put a very high valuation upon honesty in others, and that he sometimes permitted his partiality for his friends to influence his action in a manner that was hardly consistent with an upright administration of his great office, few men have held high positions whose conduct would so well bear the severest criticism as Mr. Lincoln's; but I shall not undertake his eulogy. The people have already passed judgment in favor of the nobleness and excellence of his character and the wisdom of his administration, and the pen of impartial history will confirm the judgment."

Hugh McCulloch did not retire in Fort Wayne as he had intimated he would in his speech of October 11, 1865. Instead he re-

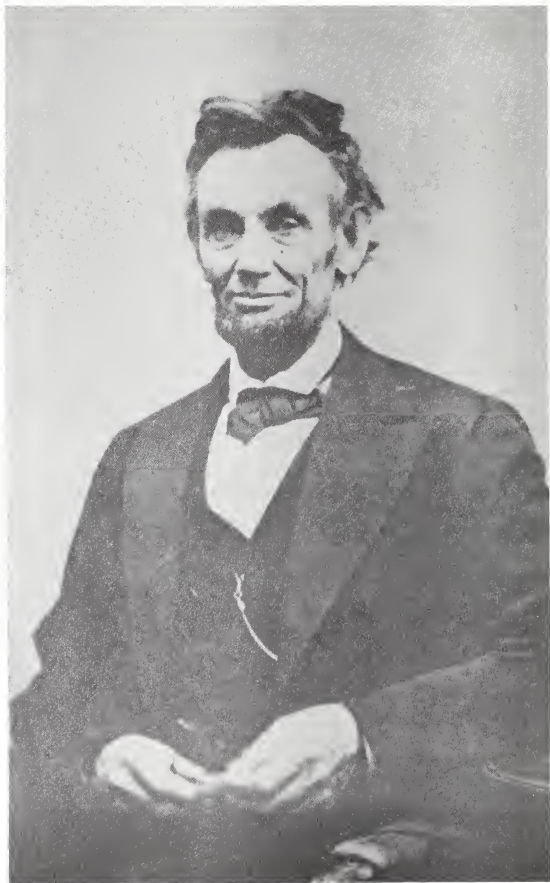
Once Secretary Stanton worked out the funeral route he altered Lincoln's inaugural itinerary by omitting Pittsburgh and Cincinnati and detouring by way of Chicago, instead of going direct to Springfield from Indianapolis.

Lincoln's remains reached Indianapolis from Columbus, Ohio by way of the Columbus and Indianapolis Central Railway, which is now a part of the Pennsylvania road. The first Indiana city to be reached enroute to Indianapolis was Richmond. All day Sunday, April 30, the body lay on public view in the Indiana State House.

About midnight the coffin was closed for the next journey by way of a special train enroute to Chicago. Three different railroads were utilized: "the Lafayette and Indianapolis to Lafayette; the Louisville, New Albany and Chicago from Lafayette to Michigan City; and thence the Michigan Central into Chicago." The "Special" enroute to Chicago was made up at Indianapolis and consisted of five cars of the Michigan Central Railroad Company, and two that had come through over the entire route. All of the cars were most appropriately and lavishly draped. Of the two cars named, one was the superb railway "carriage" built at the government railway shops in Alexandria, and intended as the President's private car. It was in this car that the President's remains were placed.

Throughout the entire trip the funeral train was preceded by a pilot engine and at every town and village along the Indiana route the grieving people gathered to watch the train go by. In many instances buildings and railway depots were decorated in somber black, salvos of artillery were fired, circulars of a memorial nature were distributed, choirs chanted, torches were lighted, evergreen arches were constructed, logs were burned, flags were draped, and mourning badges were worn to express the grief of the country and townspeople who knew in advance that the train would not stop at their station.

The Indiana cities, towns and villages along the funeral route were Richmond, Centerville, Cambridge City, Dublin, Lewisville, Coffin's Station, Ogdens, Raysville, Knightstown, Charlottville, Greenfield, Cumberland, Indianapolis, Zionsville, Whitestown, Lebanon, Thorntown, Clark's Hill, Stockwell, Lafayette, Battle Ground, Reynolds, Francisville, Medaryville, Lucerne, San Pierre, La-Crosse, Michigan City, Lake and Gibbons.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Abraham Lincoln

Photograph taken by Alexander Gardner in Washington,
D.C. on April 10, 1865.

When the train stopped at Michigan City one minor episode occurred. Some of the notable personages of the party from Washington were left behind. However, by means of an express engine, they were able to overtake the train at Porter Station. Chicago was reached at eleven o'clock on the morning of May 1.

While Fort Wayne Citizens were disappointed that Stanton's failure to utilize the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad had omitted their city from the funeral train's itinerary, their grief was just as sincere as that manifested in the more important cities between Washington and Springfield.

Today, the city of Fort Wayne is closely identified with the name and fame of the Sixteenth President, due to the phenomenal growth of The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company (founded in 1905) and its creation in 1928 of the Lincoln National Life Foundation with its Lincoln Library and Museum. Owing to the voluminous amount of Lincolniana that has been acquired by the Foundation over a period of thirty-six years, the city has become known as "A Center of Lincoln information in America."

Many factors can be enumerated to account for Lincoln's pre-eminent position among the world's great men. One significant factor has been the contribution made by the insurance industry in publicizing and disseminating information about this great American. The Lincoln National Life Foundation, for example, can boast of having assembled the greatest collection of organized printed material on the subject, and of publishing Lincoln Lore since April 15, 1929 (1532 bulletins up to November 1965) which constitutes the most voluminous printed work on any historical character. The Lincoln Library and Museum welcomes visitors on weekdays, Monday through Friday, from 8:00 A.M. to 4:30 P.M.

A further indication of the present day popularity of the Sixteenth President in this city as one of the nation's greatest heroes is that in Fort Wayne fourteen institutions bear the name "Lincoln." These include business establishments, a bank, an insurance company, and a school.









Lincoln Lore

July, 1976

Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation...Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor. Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1661

HUGH McCULLOCH AND THE BEARS OF WALL STREET

The United States was financially ill equipped in 1861 to fight a major war. With an estimated national income of \$140 per capita, there were not vast pools of capital to be tapped for quick financing. For most of its life the young government, now threatened with division and extinction after less than eighty years of existence, paid its way by means of tariff duties and revenue from the sale of public lands. These were not dependable sources in time of war. Borrowing was the only way out, but the youthful country had no central bank since Andrew Jackson's Bank War. There were some 1600 different state banks and thousands of kinds of currency, and the government had no official fiscal agent familiar with dealing with bankers for loans.

The war changed all of this. Taxation remained unpopular in a country born of resistance to taxation, and the government relied more heavily on borrowing and printing. It borrowed by means of the sale of interest-bearing govern-

ment bonds marketed by the firm of Jay Cooke and Company. Cooke earned handsome commissions selling the government's forms of indebtedness to bankers, brokers, and men of wealth who recognized them as good short-term, high-interest investments. He also marketed the government's bonds successfully and fueled President Lincoln's war machine with cash.

The government also used the printing press freely. Beginning in February of 1862, it issued about \$450,000,000 in non-interest-bearing United States Notes, which soon came to be called "greenbacks." This government paper money was legal tender for payment of all debts, public and private.

Finally, the government simplified the chaos of banking, created a market for government bonds, and provided a uniform bank-note currency by creating the National Bank system in 1863. Banks were then organized under national charters with specified minimum levels of capital. The Treas-



Courtesy of The New York Historical Society, New York City

FIGURE 1. William Beard (1824-1900) painted *The Bears of Wall Street Celebrating a Drop in the Market* because he liked to paint wild animals and humorous situations. James Jackson Jarves (1818-1888), the greatest American art critic of Lincoln's day, complimented Beard's "fine wit" and called him "an artist of genuine American stamp."

surey Department's Comptroller of the Currency, who supervised the new system, required the banks to purchase United States bonds and issued national bank notes equalling 90 percent of the value of United States bonds deposited in the United States Treasury by the particular banks.

Such was the system of Civil War finance which Hugh McCulloch "inherited" when he became Abraham Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury in March of 1865. He was not Lincoln's first choice for the office, and the reasons for his selection remain a bit murky. In fact, he was rather surprised himself, as he explained to his friend and former pastor, Charles Beecher, brother of Henry Ward Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, on March 13, 1865:

Odd things do happen;—I fought the Charter of the new Indiana State Bank and in six months was its President. I came to Washington in July 1863 to see that this Bank received no detriment from Mr. Chase's Bank Bill & in three months, I was his Comptroller—I had not the slightest desire to be Secretary of the Treasury and would not have raised a finger to obtain that position, and here I am, with the credit of the nation to no small extent upon my hands.¹

Most students of the period agree that McCulloch was one of Lincoln's most conservative choices. Most seem to agree with McCulloch's self-appraisal that he was a banker and not a politician. James G. Randall and Richard N. Current say that "McCulloch was a conservative in politics as much as a conservative in finances." McCulloch's disagreements with previous Secretaries' policies were based on conservative financial assumptions. "He thought Chase had erred in consenting that the government paper money should be made a legal tender," wrote Randall and Current, "and he thought Fessenden had erred in attempting to dispense with the services of the middleman Jay Cooke in the sale of government bonds." They maintained that Lincoln did not even agree with his gloomy Secretary:

McCulloch was bearish. He had the dour outlook proverbially associated with a man of his Scotch ancestry. As comptroller of the currency he had issued to the National Banks in December, 1863, a circular embodying his pessimistic views. The states of the North, he then warned, appeared to be prosperous but actually were not, for the war was "constantly draining the country of its laboring and producing population, and diverting its mechanical industry from works of permanent value to the construction of implements of warfare." The "seeming prosperity," he explained, was due primarily to "the large expenditures of the Government and the redundant currency." He advised the bankers to prepare for a depression: "manage the affairs of your respective banks with a perfect consciousness that the apparent prosperity of the country will be proved to be unreal when the war is closed, if not before. . . ." When he received the offer of the treasury position, McCulloch assumed that Lincoln had been motivated by "the impression which was made upon him" by this gloomy circular.

But Lincoln in his message to Congress of December, 1864, expressed an entirely different spirit. Part of the message was a paean to wartime progress and prosperity. "It is of noteworthy interest," the President declared, "that the steady expansion of population, improvement and governmental institutions over the new and unoccupied portions of our country have scarcely been checked, much less impeded or destroyed, by our great civil war, which at first glance would seem to have absorbed almost the entire energies of the nation." Sales of public land soared high, the Pacific railroad was being pushed to completion, new sources of gold and silver and mercury were being opened in the West. The popular vote in the recent election—larger in the free states, despite the non-voting of most of the soldiers, than it had been in 1860—demonstrated an important fact: "that we have more men now than we had when the war began. . . ."



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

FIGURE 2. Jay Cooke and Jay Cooke, Jr.

Besides: "Material resources are now more complete and abundant than ever."²

Robert P. Sharkey was in substantial agreement about McCulloch in his pioneering study of the financial history of the end of the Civil War and Reconstruction. "McCulloch was an extremely conservative banker," said Sharkey. He had "a rigid, conservative, and essentially unimaginative mind." He "could see little merit and much positive evil in the greenbacks. They were controlled by none of the rules of experience and legal restrictions by which a well-secured bank-note currency was made to serve the needs of the business community. Their volume was limited solely by political considerations and the availability of the printing press. In addition, McCulloch felt strongly that the original issue of greenbacks in 1862 had been an unconstitutional exercise of power. This was the orthodox, conservative view of the greenbacks which was shared by a majority of McCulloch's banker colleagues. What it failed to consider was the fact that any tampering with the volume of the greenbacks in the fateful years which followed the end of the war was likely to precipitate a depression. The situation called for the delicacy of a scalpel, but McCulloch brought only the bluntness of a meat axe." Sharkey added that the Indiana banker "along with the majority of his contemporaries who could claim to be well informed on economic matters accepted the idea that the Almighty had ordained the use of gold and silver as money."³

A look at the McCulloch manuscripts at the Lilly Library at Indiana University suggests a somewhat different picture of Hugh McCulloch. Instead of a superstitiously conservative, dour pessimist, one can portray a flexible Secretary of the Treasury, ably and patriotically bending his sincere convictions to meet the exigencies of a wartime economy. He tried to forge a middle way between the bears of Wall Street and the bullish inflationists of Pennsylvania and the West.

In the last couple of months of the war, the new Secretary got plenty of bearish advice. Even before he became Secretary, in fact, conservative New York financiers like Morris



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

FIGURE 3. Hugh McCulloch

Ketchum complained of the inflationist policies of McCulloch's predecessors in the office. On September 6, 1864, Ketchum wrote Comptroller McCulloch: "I had hoped, and the country expected, that with Mr. Fessenden, every opportunity would be embraced for contraction, and thus crush speculation, and prostrate the exorbitant prices of the necessities of life, from which, there is more danger to the stability of our Government, than from the enemy."⁴ Not all the advice was quite so extremist in tone, and more often it resembled the advice of John A. Stewart, U. S. Treasury agent in New York City: "So far as possible, having due regard to the wants of the Treasury, contraction should be the order of the day, and in my judgment it will have an important bearing upon the result of the coming Presidential Election."⁵

McCulloch was obviously inclined to see things their way. Shortly after assuming office, he wrote an old Fort Wayne associate (in a more revealing vein than he customarily wrote self-appointed advisors from New York's financial community): "It will be a difficult thing to reduce the circulation of the country, and at the same time meet promptly the enormous demands upon the Treasury. I hope, however, to be able to do both. . . ."⁶ No man can fairly be accused of rigidity who came to Washington to fight a system he wound up implementing (the National Banking system), and McCulloch learned as he went along and was proud of it. Thus he wrote one George A. Cotter of Brooklyn three days before Lincoln was assassinated, "I have been under the necessity of revising a good many opinions which I entertained before the commencement of the war, and expect to be a good deal wiser a year hence by merely watching the course of events than I am at the present time."⁷

And learn he did. The conservative Hoosier banker customarily assured his correspondents that he had no intention of suddenly or severely curtailing the currency. Thus he told Boston's Gamaliel Bradford, a writer on financial and government reform:

I have now only to say, that there is no great danger of an

immediate contraction of the Currency. If I had the power, I should lack the disposition to do violence to the business of the country by a rapid curtailment of our circulating medium. A repeal of the Legal Tender Act [which created the "greenbacks"] would, in my judgment, be much more injudicious and much more disastrous, than the opponents of that measure ever supposed its passage would be.⁸

Financial subjects, and especially money theory, excited a great number of writers and cranks on both sides of the issue, and McCulloch saw himself as somewhat beleagueredly threading his way between the extremes of deflationist bears and inflationist bulls. Thus he complimented one D. W. Bloodgood of New York for a favorable editorial on March 28, 1865:

Your remarks in the "Journal" were timely and judicious. I had before me yesterday two gentlemen of distinguished reputation, as writers upon Finance;—Mr. [Henry C.] Carey, of Philadelphia, and Mr. Hazard, of Rhode Island. The former is of the opinion that the country can only be saved from utter ruin by an increase of Paper Money; the latter argues, that unless the currency be rapidly curtailed, we shall have, in a short period, a financial collapse. My own opinion is, that both are equally in error.⁹

McCulloch dealt with Mr. Carey more than once. This famed champion of high protective tariffs and cheap money (and Pennsylvania's economic interests) received this soothing advice from McCulloch in early April, 1865:

You are, I am satisfied, too apprehensive in regard to the future. The volume of circulation is now large; is being daily increased, and the people have confidence in it. As long as this is the case there can be no crash; and I think, no prostration of important interests.

You pay too much regard to newspaper paragraphs [?]. They are less potent than you suppose them.¹⁰

He could be just as rough on bears and deflationists. To John A. Stewart of the New York Treasury office he wrote on March 25, 1865, urging him to cooperate with the bullish speculator, Jay Cooke: "I trust that there will be entire harmony of views and action between yourself and Mr. C. He is ardent and sanguine, but I have generally found him safe and judicious."¹¹ When prospects of peace in late March of 1865 lead to a panic in the gold market and a sudden and rapid decline in the price of gold, McCulloch told Stewart: "Keep cool. The storm is too violent to last long, although I apprehend that the bear interest will for a time be too strong to be successfully resisted."¹² Eventually disgusted himself, McCulloch wrote Jay Cooke on March 29, 1865: "What a mercy it would be to the country if Wall St. could be sunk."¹³ These surely were not the words of a simpl-minded captive of the Wall Street bears.

Sharkey admitted that McCulloch "was not a bullionist in the sense that he did not feel it wise or necessary to insist on a one-hundred per cent specie backing for bank notes."¹⁴ Nevertheless, he intimated that McCulloch thought gold and silver divinely appointed as the only real currency. It is true, as McCulloch admitted himself, that he was, "for a banker, a 'hard money man.'"¹⁵ But one should not ignore the important occasion when McCulloch helped the war effort by dashing a bullionist movement. In 1865, the California Supreme Court decided that United States Notes (the "greenbacks") were not to be accepted for payment of state taxes. McCulloch wrote a stinging letter to Thompson Campbell, obviously intended for publication. McCulloch had "very decided opinions upon this subject, and . . . no hesitation in saying, that, . . . California would have been a much richer and more prosperous State, if her circulation had been a mixed, instead of an exclusively metallic one. . . ." McCulloch lectured:

No country can prosper for any considerable time, where money commands so high a rate of interest as it does in California, and nothing would tend more directly to reduce that rate of interest than the introduction of a sound paper cir-

culating medium.

Paper money has been found to be a necessity in all commercial countries, and especially in the United States, and what is true elsewhere, must be true in California.

Blessed with great natural resources, California was held back from full economic development and large influx of much-needed population by only one factor, plentiful credit. "California," the Secretary of Treasury added, "needs a well regulated credit system;—she needs a paper circulation to quicken enterprise, and give impetus to business;—she needs a lower rate of interest;—she needs to be cured of the mania for an exclusive metallic currency;—in a word, she needs, in addition to the recognition of United States Notes as a currency, a sound banking system—such as is provided for by the National Currency Act . . ."¹⁶

In truth, Hugh McCulloch was frequently bullish on America. Although the Lincoln assassination shocked the country, Wall Street recovered quickly from a brief panic. McCulloch wrote John A. Stewart the day after Lincoln died in this reassuring vein:

You will perceive that the new administration is inaugurated, and the wheels of Government are not stopped for a moment. My hope is, and my belief is, that this great National calamity will teach to the world a lesson, which will be of the most beneficial character to our Republican form of Government; that it will show that the assassination of our Chief Magistrate does not affect in the slightest degree the permanence of our institutions, or the regular administration of the laws; that an event that would have shaken any other country to the centre does not even stagger for a moment a Government like ours.¹⁷

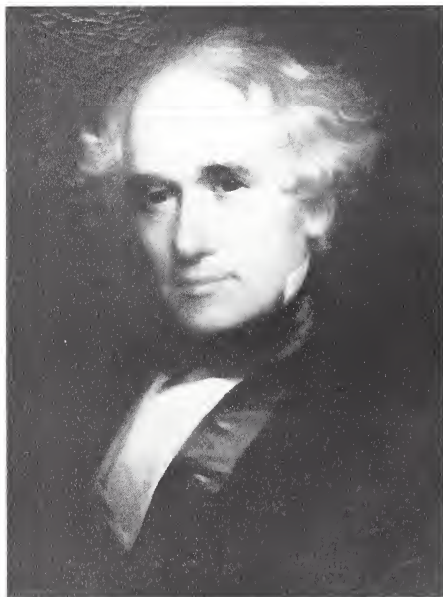
Nor was his thinking always far apart from that of President Lincoln. Five days after Lincoln's death, McCulloch wrote D. W. Bloodgood, apparently responding to some suggestions for solutions to financial problems after the war: "The idea of employing a portion of our soldiers upon the Pacific Road and in the mining Districts is a good one. Labor is high in the loyal States, but there is no lack of it."¹⁸ Speaker of the House Schuyler Colfax, ready to leave for California on April 15, saw President Lincoln the day before. He reported that the President told him: "Don't forget, Colfax, to tell those miners that that is my speech to them, by you." As Colfax remembered it later, Lincoln told him to tell the citizens of California that he had "very large ideas of the mineral wealth of our nation." Mining should be encouraged, for the gold and silver could quickly pay off the war debt. Moreover, Lincoln said that he would answer the fears of those who saw paralyzed industry and vast unemployment in the sudden return of thousands of disbanded soldiers by trying to attract these veterans to California to mine the minerals that would pay the debt.¹⁹

In these last thoughts, as perhaps in others in the months preceding, President Lincoln and his Secretary of the Treasury, Hugh McCulloch, were not very far apart.

Notes

1. Hugh McCulloch to Charles Beecher, March 13, 1865. Copy in Secretary of Treasury letter copybooks, vol. A, pp. 48-49, McCulloch MSS, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.
2. James G. Randall and Richard N. Current, *Lincoln the President: Last Full Measure* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1955), pp. 279, 278, 279-80.
3. Robert P. Sharkey, *Money, Class, and Party: An Economic Study of Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), pp. 58, 59, 60.
4. Morris Ketchum to Hugh McCulloch, September 6, 1864. Copy in John Aikman Stewart and Henry Herbert Van Dyck letter copybooks, vol. I, p. 24, McCulloch MSS, Lilly Library.
5. John A. Stewart to Hugh McCulloch, September 10, 1864. Copy in *ibid.*, p. 30.

6. Hugh McCulloch to P. Hoagland, March 10, 1865. Copy in Secretary of Treasury copybook, vol. A, p. 12, Lilly Library.
7. Hugh McCulloch to George A. Cotter, April 11, 1865. Copy in *ibid.*, p. 385.
8. Hugh McCulloch to Gamaliel Bradford, March 11, 1865. Copy in *ibid.*, p. 17.
9. Hugh McCulloch to D. W. Bloodgood, March 28, 1865. Copy in *ibid.*, p. 221.
10. Hugh McCulloch to Henry C. Carey, April 1, 1865. Copy in *ibid.*, p. 264.
11. Hugh McCulloch to John A. Stewart, March 25, 1865. Copy in *ibid.*, p. 188.
12. Hugh McCulloch to John A. Stewart, n. d. Copy in Stewart and Van Dyck copybook, vol. I, p. 100.
13. Hugh McCulloch to Jay Cooke, March 29, 1865. Copy in Secretary of Treasury copybook, vol. A, p. 242.
14. Sharkey, *Money, Class, and Party*, p. 58.
15. Hugh McCulloch to P. Hoagland, March 10, 1865. Copy in Secretary of Treasury copybook, vol. A, p. 12, McCulloch MSS, Lilly Library.
16. Hugh McCulloch to Thompson Campbell, n. d. Copy in *ibid.*, pp. 224-226.
17. Hugh McCulloch to John A. Stewart, April 16, 1865. Copy in Stewart and Van Dyck copybook, vol. I, pp. 110-111, McCulloch MSS, Lilly Library.
18. Hugh McCulloch to D. W. Bloodgood, April 20, 1865. Copy in Secretary of Treasury copybook, vol. B, p. 465, McCulloch MSS, Lilly Library.
19. See *Lincoln Lore* No. 331 (August 12, 1935).



From the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

FIGURE 4. Henry C. Carey (1793-1879) of Philadelphia was America's foremost intellectual opponent of free trade and hard money.

Slavery Issue Split Fort Wayne Views

10th in a series

By MARK HELMKE

The South's peculiar institution of slavery was a highly volatile issue as Fort Wayne was growing into a major industrial city in the 1850s.

Public debate on the matter, however, was muddled by many divergent currents. Fort Wayne historian Charles Poinsett said the people of Fort Wayne "opposed slavery in theory, but had little concern for the Negro as an individual apart from the question of slavery."

For example, in the 1846 congressional election, Fort Wayne voted against its own George Ewing because his family had slaveholding interests in the South. But when a state constitutional amendment in 1851 proposed banning all future black migration into Indiana, Fort Wayne voted for it 1,775 to 261.

One of the leading pro-slavery advocates in Fort Wayne was dentist Isaac Knapp, who moved here after he was beaten up by an angry mob of abolitionists in Cleveland.

On the other side was Jewish merchant Frederick Nerdlinger, who provided a safe house in Fort Wayne for the underground railroad. Ironically, Nerdlinger was a close friend of Stephen Douglas, whose election defeat to Abraham Lincoln in 1860 caused the Civil War.

Indiana's two U.S. senators were also divided on the issue of slavery.

On the pro-slavery side was Sen. Jesse Bright, who owned slaves on the other side of the Ohio River in Kentucky. When the Civil War broke out, Bright was kicked out of the U.S. Senate for selling guns to the Confederacy. Leading the anti-slavery forces was Sen. George Julian, one of the greatest orators in the history of the U.S. Senate.

National abolitionist leader Henry Ward Beecher was headquartered in Indianapolis, the new state capital.

Beecher briefly preached at Fort Wayne's First Presbyterian Church. He split the church in two, forcing a pro-slavery contingent to set up its own church. Fort Wayne's only governor, Samuel Bigger, got caught in the middle of the slavery issue. Bigger was supported by Sam Hanna and Allen Hamilton because he helped subsidize the canals and railroads they were building.

Bigger replaced Gov. David Wallace, who came to Fort Wayne to work for Hanna and Hamilton after his term expired. Wallace's son, Lew Wallace, was a famous Civil War general who wrote Ben Hur.

When Hanna and Hamilton's

Presbyterian Church split on the issue of slavery, Bigger couldn't decide what side to take. When he waffled, Hanna and Hamilton dumped him.

Hanna and Hamilton joined the anti-slavery forces, but were concerned about the growing controversy. All they wanted to do was make more money, and the hot debate over slavery was getting in the way. They were also afraid the anti-slavery forces would alienate the German and Irish immigrants who worked in Hanna and Hamilton's factories and kept their political machine in power.

The Germans and Irish didn't like slavery, but they also didn't like the growing political clout of the prohibitionists, who allied themselves with the abolitionists. The Germans and Irish were more concerned about their right to drink than the rights of blacks in the South.

The anti-slavery and anti-drink forces in Fort Wayne were led by Jesse Williams, who was the head engineer for Hanna and Hamilton's canal and railroad projects. He was also a developer and, with canal boat builder Asa Fairfield, built the town of South Wayne, which was later annexed into Fort Wayne.

Williams gained national fame in the 1870s as the commissioner for the transcontinental railroad and revealed to Congress the Credit Mobilier scandal.

Hanna and Hamilton wanted to avert a Civil War at all costs. They sided with Douglas, who was searching for a compromise between the North and South.

Leading the Douglas faction in Indiana was Gov. Joseph Wright, who said, "Indiana knows no South, no North, nothing but the Union." The forces for splitting up the union, however, had more power.

Douglas' moderate course was hurt when Vice-President John Breckinridge decided to run a pro-slavery third party campaign against him.

That left the Republicans' Lincoln, who was supported in Indiana by Oliver Perry Morton. Morton formed the Fusionists to support Lincoln. The Fusionists were a hodgepodge of abolitionists, prohibitionists, free soilers, Known Nothings and nativists. They carried Indiana for Lincoln and put Morton into the governor's office.

Fort Wayne, however, sided with Douglas, giving him 1,327 votes to Lincoln's 976 and Breckinridge's 19.

Soon after Lincoln's election, the South seceded from the union, and Fort Wayne reluctantly went to war.

Fort Wayne

Monday, March 30, 1981

The News-Sentinel

Fort Wayne's past has deep roots

By SHERRI MONTEITH

There are no records that indicate George Washington ever slept here, but Fort Wayne certainly was one of his many concerns and interests.

Since the days when culture and western civilization were barely evident in the frontier regions, the Summit City has played a vital role in America's economic and political history.

In 1785, Washington wrote a letter to his friend Richard Henry Lee, a member of the Continental Congress, outlining what he saw as necessary development for

a vital region of the wilderness.

The letter said, in part, "Would it not be worthy of his wisdom and the attention of the Congress to have the western waters well explored, the navigation of them fully ascertained and accurately laid down, and a complete and perfect map of the country, at least as far westerly as the Miamis running into the Ohio and Lake Erie, (the Miami running into the Ohio and the Maumee running into Lake Erie), and see how the waters of these communicate with the River St. Joseph (emptying into Lake Michigan) for I cannot forbear observing

that the Miami Village (Fort Wayne) points to an important post for the Union."

Washington's concern about development of the area continued, and after his inauguration in 1789, he took steps to insure the safety of settlers here.

Following an Indian uprising that resulted in three scalplings and the burning at the stake of a white settler, Washington ordered General Josiah Harmar and his troops to settle the borders.

Harmar's army was nearly annihilated, and General Anthony Wayne was sent in to take charge.

Wayne's fort brought more order to the territory, and a settlement slowly evolved.

One local history book, *Outpost in the Wilderness*, by Charles Poinsett, describes the original birth of the current All-America City:

"To the west of the fort there came into being a collection of government buildings and settler's establishments which in time resembled a small village. These log buildings were located at the meeting place of two roads...Wayne's Trace (this was the road connecting Fort Wayne with Fort Washington, Cincinnati) and the old Maumee-Wabash portage path."

As a footnote, the book explained the two roads later became Columbia and Barr streets. For a long time, Wayne's Trace was known as the "bloody path" because of Harmar's and St. Clair's defeats along the route.

The Three Rivers area prospered, thanks to the rich bounty that waited for trappers and hunters in the thick forests along the banks.

In 1808, John John-

ston, a Fort Wayne supply agent, inventoried the furs being shipped East that year: 1,140 deer skins, 26,938 raccoon pelts, "many, many beavers, cats, foxes," 94 bear skins, plus innumerable wolves, buffalo, elk, mink and lynx.

The future economic character of the community began to form with the arrival of Samuel Hanna in 1819. Hanna probably helped develop the city more than any other single man. He was instrumental in construction of the Erie Canal and a number of roads, business ventures and community establishments.

Pioneer traffic through Fort Wayne was heavy, because the seven-mile portage between the Maumee and Wabash Rivers was the only land separating the St. Lawrence River from the Mississippi River, and therefore, the Gulf of Mexico. That well-worn portage became known as "the summit," and the nickname Summit City was born.

The city was originally platted in 1822, when government lands became open for sale to private citizens.

John T. Barr, a merchant from Baltimore, and John McCorkle, a mill owner from Piqua Ohio, bought all the original land, 110 lots. They paid \$26 an acre, a very exclusive rate for the time.

Alexander Ewing then bought 80 acres just to the west of the Barr/McCorkle tract, beginning at what is now Ewing Street.

Allen County was established in 1823, named after Col. John Allen, and the first election of county officials took place May 22, 1824.

One of the county commission's first official acts was to set personal property taxes, which included

taxes on gold watches and male servants.

During that time the new state government was attempting to rid the area of wolves, and a bounty was paid by the state for every wolf scalp a settler turned in. Bounty certificates could be used as money in paying government bills, such as taxes. For the first several years of its existence, Allen County collected its taxes, \$111.62 per year, completely in wolf certificates.

In 1824, Barr and McCorkle proposed to plat their land for sale, and offered the county \$500 cash and the donation of one square for public use. That square now houses the county courthouse.

They also gave a few other plats to the county, one for a church of no particular denomination, and a few others for public use.

The original streets of the city included Calhoun, Clinton, Court and Barr, running north-south; and Water (now Superior), Columbia, Main, Berry and Wayne running east-west.

The original streets did not run due north-south, as was common for the time, because the platters did not want to uproot existing settler homes that would have been in the way. However, Major Samuel Lewis later tried to correct the problem on the then-south side of town. At the intersection of Lewis Street, each of the original city streets jogs to run due north-south. This alleviated the angle problem in later expansions.

The construction of the Erie Canal encouraged economic growth in Fort Wayne, with the first section of the canal being completed from Fort Wayne to Huntington in 1835.

It also spurred a wild, unruly lifestyle that was first documented in the 1820s.

Upon visiting the region, Capt. James Riley wrote "there were at least 1,000 whites here from Ohio, Michigan, New York and Indiana, trading with the Indians. Horse racing, gambling, drinking, debauchery, extravagance and waste were the order of the day and night."

Although Riley observed such a large collection of people in the 1820s, many were transients.

The 1830 census registered 300 residents in Fort Wayne. However, the canal helped that figure leap. By 1840, the census claimed 2,080 residents.

The canal brought about other enterprises for ambitious residents. Wood plank toll roads sprang up between Fort Wayne and outlying areas. The first of these was built by Sam Hanna, Allen Hamilton, James Barnett and the Ewing brothers.

It ran from Fort Wayne to Sturgis, Michigan, and was known as the Lima Road.

The population continued to about double every decade for 40 years, and at the turn of the century, the population stood at 45,115.

Throughout the 1800s, Fort Wayne stood as a politically conservative community in the largely Republican state. In the 1860s, the Republican party was the more liberal of the two major political factions.

Although the underground railroad had a particularly solid depot in Fort Wayne, helping runaway slaves escape to Canada, the majority of the city was pro-South in its convictions.

The underground railroad station of prime importance was located at the home of Frederick Nirdlinger, in the 200 block of West Main Street.

Nirdlinger was one of the officers of the first Jewish congregation in Fort Wayne, known as "The Society for Visiting the Sick and Burying the Dead."

The congregation convened in his home.

It is not known how many slaves escaped through Fort Wayne, since no records were kept. Because slave smuggling was illegal, it generally was done at night.

Fort Wayne was anti-Lincoln although the rest of the state was strongly Republican, and in the 1860 presidential election Allen County cast 2,552 votes for Abraham Lincoln and only 3,224 for Stephen A. Douglas. In 1864, Gen. George McClellan received 4,932 votes here and Lincoln won 2,244.

Lincoln visited Fort Wayne only once, to switch trains in the middle of the night.

However, Douglas appeared for a major campaign rally in October, 1860. He spoke from the balcony of the Rockhill house, which later became St. Joseph Hospital.

His speech was followed by a parade down Main Street to Wells, where an effigy of Lincoln was tossed over the iron bridge (which still stands) into the river.

A straw figure of Lincoln was hanged and burned at the county courthouse later that night.

More than four thousand Allen County residents served with the Union troops in the Civil War, and 489 of them were killed in action.

**GREATEST
POLITICAL DEMONSTRATION
OF THE AGE.**

FT. WAYNE, I.A.

ON TUESDAY OCT. 2nd. 1860.

**S. A. DOUGLAS,
& HERSCHEL V. JOHNSON.**

TURN OUT EVERY-BODY

LITTLE GIANT,

DANIEL W. BURT, Agent.

The 124-year-old broadsheet advertising the Douglas-Johnson speeches

Politics

From Page 1A.

3,224 votes. Lincoln garnered 2,552; Southern Democrat John C. Breckinridge, 42; and John Bell, of the Constitutional Union Party, 32.

But Lincoln carried Indiana and several other critical states and was re-elected to a second term.

The historic broadsheet was purchased from an Ohio library after it was found folded and filed with some old newspaper clippings.

Fortunately, the director of the library knew what he had and contacted Mark.

The 24-by-32-inch broadsheet, in "delicate and far-from-excellent condition," recently returned from the Northeast Document Preservation Center in Massachusetts where it was "put in the best condition it could be," Mark said.

The importance of such a find to the museum is obvious.

"Finding things that are at all related to Lincoln and Fort Wayne are hard to find. About the best you could ask for is a broadside of Lincoln's opponent."

Politicking, press haven't changed

My, how things have changed. On Sunday night, President Reagan, a Republican, debated Democratic challenger Walter Mondale before a national television audience.

But in 1860, President Abraham Lincoln — also a Republican — did not travel the first mile or make a single speech in support of his re-election.

At the time "it was a gross breach of decorum for a (president) to give a speech in his behalf," said Mark E. Neely, curator of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum, 1301 S. Harrison St.

On the other hand, Lincoln's opponent, Northern Democrat Stephen A. Douglas, became essentially the first presidential candidate to stump the country, including, on Oct. 2, 1860, stop in Fort Wayne with his running mate, Herschel V. Johnson.

A 124-year-old broadsheet, on display at the museum, heralds



By Doug Haberland

their Fort Wayne appearance as the "Greatest political demonstration of the age."

According to the poster, 40,000 to 50,000 people were expected to hear Douglas and Johnson discuss "political topics of the day."

Why Fort Wayne?

"Indiana, as it always was in the 19th century, was a key state," Mark said Monday. Politicians never knew how Hoosiers would vote.

But "Fort Wayne was a Stephen Douglas town. A Democrat town."

Douglas carried Allen County in the election a month later with

See POLITICS, Page 2A.

The broadsheet also represents a contrast in political styles.

Advisers tell Reagan to make his points in the first 20 minutes, before the TV audience loses interest, Mark said. Douglas spoke for 60 minutes and was followed by four other speechmakers.

But that was what people wanted in 1860. Spectators "came here to listen to five solid hours of political speeches. You spend the entire day in politics — a Tuesday, too," he said.

Life was hard. People were bored. Politics was entertainment. Politics was parades, brass bands and fireworks.

People "came to have a good time," Mark said, comparing the daylong political rally to a college campus on a Saturday during the football season.

The broadsheet also advertised a rail excursion between Lima, Ohio, and Fort Wayne on the 40- or 50-car "Little Giant" train, "one of the largest ever seen in Ohio ... for accommodation of the excursionists."

Douglas gave what Mark described as his standard pro-slavery campaign speech. It was interrupted 110 times by cheers and applause.

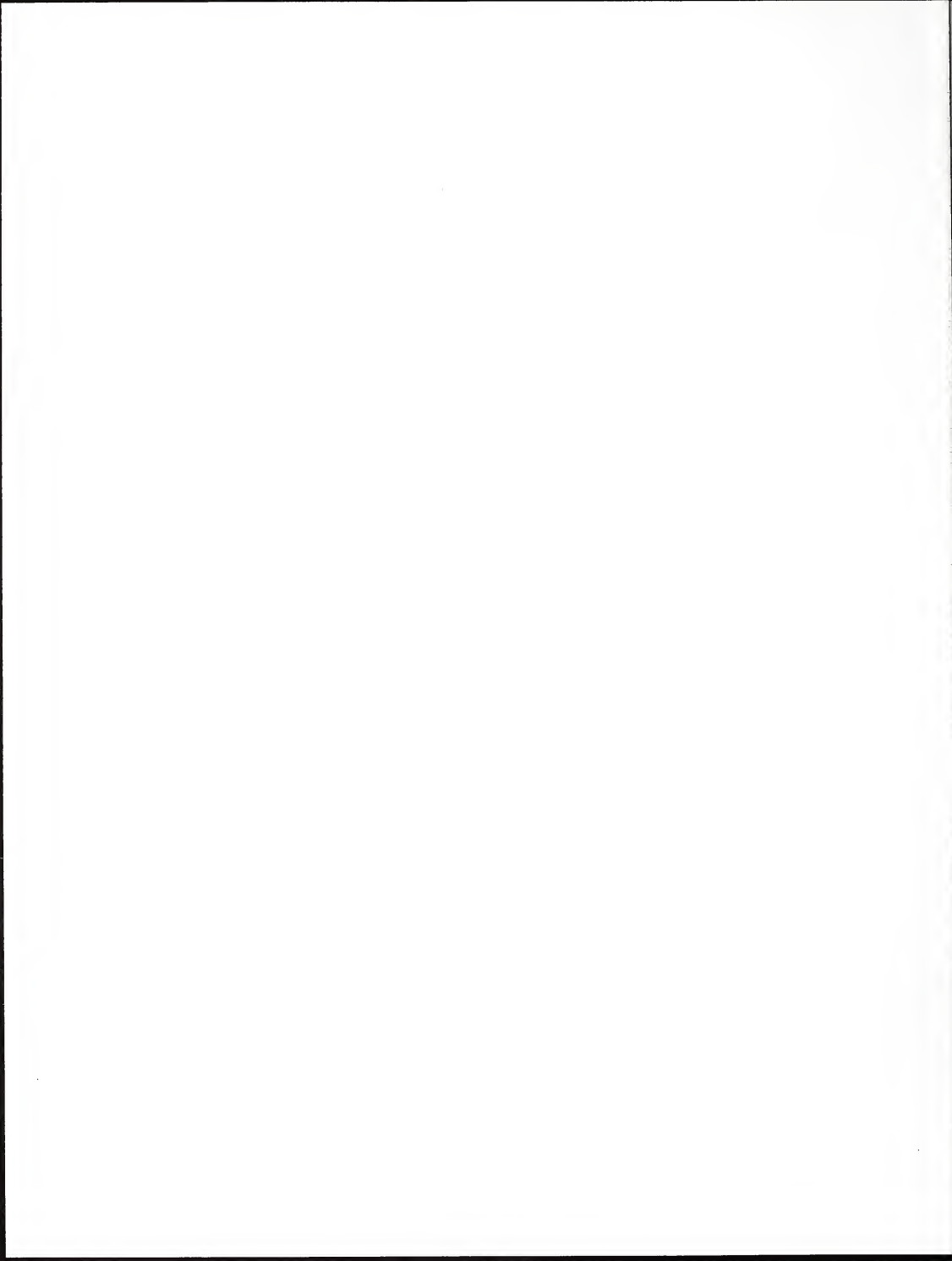
The Weekly Sentinel, the town's Democrat newspaper, reported "an audience of over 50,000" witnessed "the largest, most imposing and magnificent demonstration ever seen in the state of Indiana ..."

The Republican paper, The Daily Times, reported "there were not 10,000 on the ground nor 7,000 strangers in the city during the day."

But newspapers in the 1800s existed solely for politics. Many were subsidized by political parties, Mark said.

"You bought it (a newspaper) to see your political enemies vilified with the most venom imaginable."

Well, maybe things haven't changed *that* much after all.



FOUNDING

By **ALAN DERRINGER**
of *The News-Sentinel*

Notice how you always read about founding in city, state and country? Ever wonder why you mothers?

It has been a man's world throughout most books on the city's history, and you'll find few mentions. Even though women didn't get to vote until 1920, Fort traditions early on. They educated themselves and made. Here are some of the more interesting women in Fort.



Susan Abigail Jordan
1871-1963

Susan Abigail Jordan led a classical music orchestra 20 years before the Fort Wayne Philharmonic played its first concert. Like the conductor, every player in Jordan's 20-piece orchestra was African-American.

Jordan was a cultured woman who



Elma E. Alsop
1895-1985

Before Elma Alsop began standing up for African-American kids in Fort Wayne in the 1920s, they weren't allowed to go to YWCA camp. She changed things so young women of her race could go to camp.

Alsop's work with African-American



Joel Roberts Ninde
1874-1916

Joel Roberts Ninde was not trained in architecture. But she had definite ideas about the way houses and neighborhoods should be designed.

Ninde was an artist who began



Mother George



FOUNDING MOTHERS



Susan Abigail Jordan
1871-1963

Susan Abigail Jordan led a classical music orchestra 20 years before the Fort Wayne Philharmonic played its first concert. Like the conductor, every player in Jordan's 20-piece orchestra was African-American.

Jordan was a cultured woman who studied music at Oberlin College in Ohio before she came to Fort Wayne in 1914. She taught piano and violin in her parlor on East Douglas Street. Hundreds of people learned to play. Jordan's students were about the only African Americans in Fort Wayne who were schooled in classical music at the time.

The orchestra was started in the mid-1920s. It played the music of Bach and other composers at African-American churches. The orchestra broke up around 1940.

When Jordan attended her first Fort Wayne Philharmonic concert sometime in the 1940s, the all-white audience stared. Most were unaware that this woman had led her own orchestra.

Members of Jordan's orchestra still live in Fort Wayne. A handful continue to perform on Sundays at their churches.



Elma E. Alsop
1895-1985

Before Elma Alsop began standing up for African-American kids in Fort Wayne in the 1920s, they weren't allowed to go to YWCA camp. She changed things so young women of her race could go to camp.

Alsop's work with African-American youths spanned more than 50 years in Fort Wayne.

She was youth director for the Wheatley Social Center, which later became the civil rights group known as the Fort Wayne Urban League. There weren't many activities for African-American youths in the city in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. Alsop started drama classes for them. She organized volleyball teams for the girls and basketball teams for the boys.

Her concern for young people led the unmarried woman to adopt an orphaned boy.

In 1935, Alsop started a club where girls could learn social graces. There were formal teas and concerts. Nearly 57 years later, members of that club — the Elma E. Alsop Club — still meet.



Joel Roberts Ninde
1874-1916

Joel Roberts Ninde was not trained in architecture. But she had definite ideas about the way houses and neighborhoods should be designed.

Ninde was an artist who began designing simple, affordable houses in the early 1900s. Ninde's houses sold so well that her husband, Lee Ninde, quit his job as a lawyer. The husband and wife team created two of the first subdivisions in Fort Wayne — Wildwood Park and Lafayette Place.

The planned neighborhoods were different from most being built at the time. Trees were left standing. Winding streets often followed the contour of the land. There were no alleys. Chicken coops and hog pens were prohibited.

Eighty years later, Ninde's neighborhoods remain two of the most desirable in the city.



Mother George
1808-1865

Her real name was Eliza George, hut to thousands of Union soldiers during the Civil War, the graying nurse was "Mother" George.

Mother George volunteered to be a nurse for Union soldiers after her son-in-law, Col. Sion Bass, was killed in the war. The Fort Wayne woman was 54 years old when she joined Indiana troops on the front lines in the South.

There are stories of Mother George carrying wounded soldiers from hospitals while cannonballs fell. "It would make your heart ache to go through the long wards and see the pale faces, the sad and sorrowful eyes that follow you every step," she wrote to her daughters in Fort Wayne.

In spring 1865, she was treating some of the 11,000 Union soldiers who had been released from a prisoner-of-war stockade in North Carolina. Typhoid broke out. Mother George contracted the disease and died.

She was buried in Lindenwood Cemetery, the first woman in the city to be buried with full military honors.

By ALAN DERRINGER
of The News-Sentinel

Notice how you always read about founding fathers, those men who helped build our city, state and country? Ever wonder why you never hear about our founding mothers?

It has been a man's world throughout most of Fort Wayne's history. Read through books on the city's history, and you'll find few mentions of women.

Even though women didn't get to vote until 1920, Fort Wayne women began to break traditions early on. They educated themselves and made a difference.

Here are some of the more interesting women in Fort Wayne history.



Dr. Alice Hamilton
1869-1970

Dr. Alice Hamilton was a medical pioneer who helped make factories and mines safer places for workers. She discovered the dangers of poisoning from lead and mercury. Her discoveries led to laws that protect workers.

She grew up in Fort Wayne in a family that emphasized learning. Her sister, Edith Hamilton, grew up to be a famous Greek scholar. Alice Hamilton became a doctor because she knew it would allow her to travel around the world helping people.

Alice became the first female professor at Harvard University in 1919, years before the college admitted female students. When she died in 1970, she was looking for a safe way to dispose of nuclear waste.



Edith Hamilton
1867-1963

Edith Hamilton and her equally famous sister, Alice, did not attend the public schools in Fort Wayne. Their father said there was too much arithmetic and American history. He and his wife taught Latin and French to the girls at home.

Edith was introduced to the history of ancient Greece at an early age. She eventually became an internationally known Greek scholar. She was the first woman ever admitted to the University of Munich in Germany. She spent 25 years teaching. But it was not until she had retired from teaching that she started writing.

She wrote books on Greek history and mythology, and books about the Bible. At age 90, she was made an honorary citizen of Athens, Greece. When she died at age 95, she was completing a book on the Greek philosopher Plato.



Ruth Budd
1895-1968

Though not the most influential woman to live in Fort Wayne, Ruth Budd had one of the most colorful careers. Nicknamed the "Singing Venus of the Air," Budd sang and performed stunts while swinging on a trapeze.

She performed with her younger brother, Giles, until he missed Ruth's hands one day and broke his hip. Ruth Budd developed an act of her own and performed all over the world.

She made her movie debut in the 1919 film "A Scream in the Night," which was based on Charles Darwin's theory of evolution. She wore a monkey costume and swung on the trapeze. She broke three bones, dislocated her collarbone and a shoulder, and sprained a knee. It was her last movie.

Budd settled in Fort Wayne in 1927, almost 18 years after she began a long-distance romance with an electrician she had met at a Fort Wayne theater. She came down from the trapeze and ran a grocery store and cigar stands over the next several years.



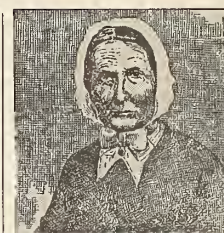
Julia Emanuel
1871-1962

Julia Emanuel was the first female pharmacist in Fort Wayne. When she started dispensing prescriptions in 1892, she had to stay hidden in the back room of the drugstore. The owners were afraid that the sight of a woman pharmacist would make people nervous and drive away customers.

After 10 years of this, Emanuel opened her own pharmacy, which she operated for 40 years. She hired women to assist her. The drugstore was a big success.

Outside of her work, Emanuel fought for the right of women to vote. Women received that right in 1920.

The pharmacist was a big supporter of University of Michigan sports, where she had been the only woman in the school of pharmacy. She always wore one blue sock and one gold sock (the Michigan school colors) when she went golfing. She played nine holes of golf every Tuesday until she was in her 80s, scoring in the low 50s.



Laura Suttentfield
1795-1886

Laura Suttentfield (pictured also on the cover) has been called the Mother of Fort Wayne, because she was the first non-Indian woman to make Fort Wayne her permanent home.

Suttentfield was the wife of a soldier stationed at the fort. Laura and William Suttentfield traveled here by flatboat on the St. Marys River in 1814. Their daughter, Jane, was the first girl to be born at the fort.

In 1818, after William had been discharged from the army, they built the first house in the village. They operated a tavern in the log building.

She described the early years in Fort Wayne and other frontier settlements as a hard life. Fort Wayne was "surrounded in its earliest years by soldiers, savages and pioneers, encumbered with the care of a large family, pressed with poverty and the privations of a frontier country, sickness and death of loved ones, and more than half a century of constant unrelenting toil."

By the time she died in 1886, things had become a little more civilized. The tiny settlement of Fort Wayne had grown to 30,000 people.

"Southwest People"
Journal Gazette
Fort Wayne, IN, 3/19/92

reading about the Civil War since.
Brinkman is president of the Fort Wayne Civil War Round Table, one of a dozen or so groups around the state which meet regularly to talk about a war distant in time but close to their hearts. The round tables became popular nationally during the war's centennial in the 1960s.

There was another resurgence in interest after Ken Burns'



Brinkman

monumental documentary, "The Civil War," was shown on PBS in 1990. Unlike the more energetic Civil War re-enactors, who wear uniforms and recreate battles, round table members have a more leisurely approach. They meet for dinner at 6 p.m. on the second Monday of each month at the Old Country Buffet in Southtown Mall.

About 7 p.m., they have a short business meeting and then settle in for a talk about some aspect of the war by a member or outside speaker.

"It could be about anything, generals, doctors, medical care on the battlefield, politics," said Brinkman, a "Civil War-coholic" who has talked to various groups and school children about railroads and logistics during the Civil War.

"The group is filled with people like me, for whom the Civil War is a passion," said Paul Swinehart, a member for 10 years, with his wife, Dorothy.



Paul Swinehart

since I was 10 or 11 years old. This was something I always wanted to do. We almost always visit battlefields or memorials, such as Gettysburg, Vicksburg and New Orleans," said



Civil War historian and author Marshall Krolick of Chicago, at right, discussed "The Civil War"

Lincoln passed through

With our minds on the next presidential election in November, it is interesting to recall how Fort Wayne voted in the elections of 1860 and 1864.

Abraham Lincoln made a brief stop in the city at 1 a.m. Feb. 23, 1860, while his train was en route to New York City where he would deliver his Cooper Union Address four days later. It was a major step in the events that led to his election and the subsequent secession of the South.

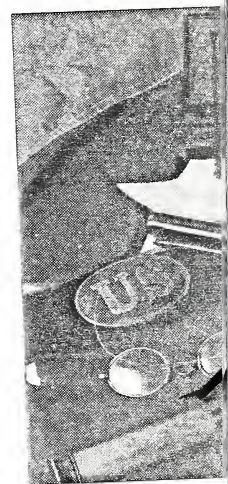
A reporter observed, "'Ole Abe' looked as if his pattern had been a mighty ugly one."

His opponent that year, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, later made a speech from the balcony of the Rockhill House on Broadway and then led a giant parade down Main Street to the banks of the St. Marys River at the Wells Street bridge. A huge sawlog, intended to represent Lincoln, was flung in to the river as a gesture of ridicule and, later, local Democrats hung a straw effigy of Lincoln at the Allen County Courthouse.

Douglas beat Lincoln in the city, 3,224 to 2,552.

Four years later, Fort Wayne cast 4,932 votes for Lincoln's opponent, Gen. George B. McClellan, the Democrat, and 2,224 for the incumbent Lincoln."

— From "Twentieth Century History of Fort Wayne" by John Ankenbruck.



Clockwise from top: a Army belt replica; a C spyglass; a .58-caliber uses in re-enactments.

Paul Swinehart, who retired after 40 years as a conductor with the Norfolk and Southern Railroad.

He is also treasurer of the group, which has 90 members, about half of whom may attend a meeting.

The membership is diverse, including doctors, lawyers and truck drivers.

Some of the group's older members can recall talking to Civil War veterans, Brinkman said.

He is a window cler Centennial Station branch Post Office. Another meml Gaff, a mail carrier at the branch, has written two b the war.

Inside the NEXT Fort Wayne



Cover story

Rx for the land

Is Mother Nature on
life support here?

Meet C. Glenn Hartley

Roanoke's Indy 500 racer

**Antiques
and money**
and an adventurous
afternoon

Fort Wayne
MAGAZINE

On newsstands
April 26

SummitCitySCENE

along the HERITAGE TRAIL with Tom Castaldi

Allen County in the Civil War

The Civil War Memorial in Lawton Park on Spy Run was dedicated on Oct. 10, 1894. Its inscription reads: "Tribute for patriotic citizens of Allen County who fell in defense of the Union 1861 - 1865 - Chicamauga, Vicksburg, Gettysburg."

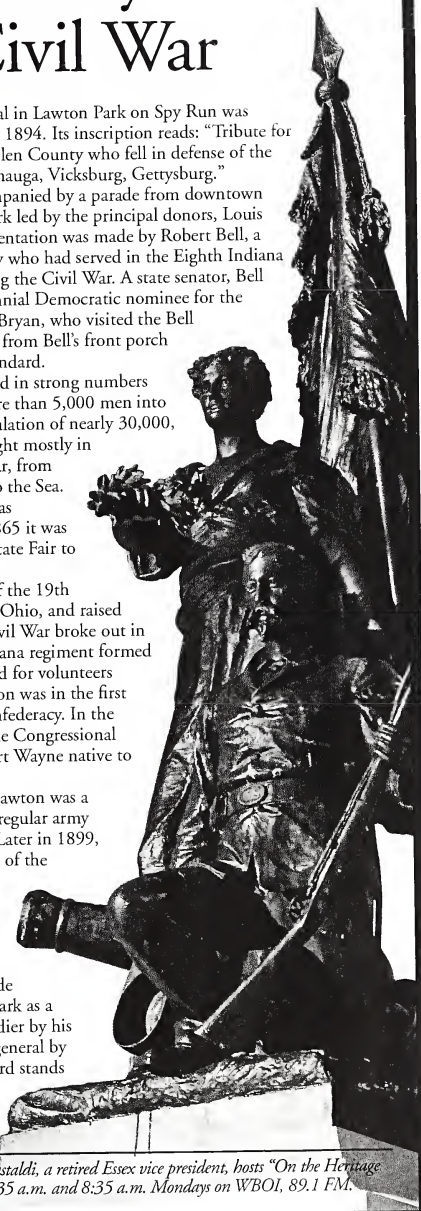
Its installation was accompanied by a parade from downtown to the present-day Lawton Park led by the principal donors, Louis and Charles Centlivre. A presentation was made by Robert Bell, a prominent attorney of the day who had served in the Eighth Indiana Regiment of Volunteers during the Civil War. A state senator, Bell was a close friend of the perennial Democratic nominee for the presidency William Jennings Bryan, who visited the Bell home and once gave a speech from Bell's front porch on the virtues of the silver standard.

Allen County participated in strong numbers in the Civil War, sending more than 5,000 men into service. Out of a county population of nearly 30,000, 489 lost their lives. They fought mostly in the western theaters of the war, from Shiloh to Sherman's March to the Sea.

Land for Lawton Park was purchased in 1864, and in 1865 it was the site of the only Indiana State Fair to be held in Fort Wayne.

Henry Lawton, a hero of the 19th century, was born in Toledo, Ohio, and raised in Fort Wayne. When the Civil War broke out in 1861, he joined the first Indiana regiment formed when President Lincoln called for volunteers to save the Union, and he soon was in the first engagements against the Confederacy. In the Atlanta campaign, he won the Congressional Medal of Honor, the first Fort Wayne native to have done so.

By the end of the war, Lawton was a colonel and soon joined the regular army to fight in the Indian Wars. Later in 1899, Lawton was placed in charge of the American forces assigned to put down the Philippine rebellion after the Spanish-American War and was killed by a sniper on Dec. 19, 1899. In 1899 North Side Park was renamed Lawton Park as a tribute paid to the fallen soldier by his hometown. A statue of the general by sculptor Frederick C. Hibbard stands in Lakeside Park at Lake and Crescent avenues.



Allen County historian Tom Castaldi, a retired Essex vice president, hosts "On the Heritage Trail," which is broadcast at 6:35 a.m. and 8:35 a.m. Mondays on WBOI, 89.1 FM.

THE NEW REGIMENTS. TO THE PEOPLE OF INDIANA.

Being charged with the organization of the new Indiana Regiments, I present the following inducements to rapid recruiting:

1. The new call for 300,000 men to fill old regiments does not interfere with the fifteen regiments already commenced, which, if raised by November 10th, will hold their independent part of organization.
2. The large bounties are not contingent upon three years of service, but will be paid whenever a regiment is discharged, however short the service.
3. The new regiments will be credited to Indiana upon the call for 300,000 men, or upon the draft which will follow the failure to fill the quota.
4. The war is narrowed to such issues, that the prompt enlistment of the new quota must end the rebellion. Examine this matter for yourself. A fair survey of the maps, which every citizen should make for himself, will show that *large territory has been exposed—that the Federals control the great points of Southern supplies—that their people are over-crowded in their fortified places—that the rebellion must exist as a bare existence—that any reinforcements to its two great armies. So long as the Army of the Potomac is adequate to watch Lee, and give full occupation to his forces, it only remains that our troops in the Southwest be so augmented as to overwhelm Bragg, and occupy the lines covered by his armies.* With this result realized, the fall of Richmond is only a question of time. *Success in Georgia and its relating territory is final success.* The enemy accept this issue, and fight to avoid that calamity and protract the struggle. Our plain duty is to realize the speediest results. Were the new quota now in the field, you would know that the end was near. To delay enlistment, is, therefore, to protract the war. *Prompt enlistments make short enlistments.* Some have demanded six months troops, upon the idea that a large army, expeditiously raised, would close the war in that time. *Three year enlistments will turn to six months enlistments, if thus we close the war;* while the moral effect of preparation for any emergency is greatly enhanced by such recruiting.
5. The popular heart of Europe now turns toward your cause, and expects of you fresh vigor. The people have renewed the pledge to prosecute the war. Now, *reaffirm this pledge*, and let instance that foreigners have the new regiments ready to take a ready part in the coming struggle, so as to win a rebellion by the fresh display of your patriotism and your power.

Then shall Indiana anticipate the draft, and maintain the credit which has become part of her glory in every phase of this war for Freedom and National Independence.

By order of the Governor:

HENRY B. CARRINGTON,

Brig. Gen'l, U. S. A.

1860

Back in ~~1859~~, the Rockhill House was Fort Wayne's newest hotel. The first one was the Hediken House on Barr Street. We knew the Rockhill House as the old part of the St. Joseph Hospital, at the corner of Main & Broadway. Perhaps, you will remember that a little iron balcony extended over Main Street. (This building was torn down to make way for the new section of the Hospital.)

"²Stephan A. Douglass¹⁸⁶⁰ came to Fort Wayne in ~~1859~~, campaigning against Lincoln. He stayed at the Rockhill House and made a five minute speech from that balcony. Later his "Speech of the day" was made on the banks of the River just south of the Main Street bridge, where bleachers were built to take care of the crowd. That was a gala day!

"Father Stover was a small boy then. He often told us the story. His Foster father brought him all the way from Bluffton over the old plank road. They started long before dawn so that they'd arrive in time for the parade.

"It was a wonderful parade! It started at the Courthouse and went all the way to the Main Street bridge. Bands played, and all the people applauded Stephan A. Douglass. Somewhere about half way along the line of march, there was a great commotion and a float broke into the parade. It was a huge hay-wagon, and on it was tall, lanky young man dressed to represent Abe Lincoln, and he was splitting rails. The float was so clever and realistic, that it was stealing the show. Of course, it moved very slowly as it was drawn by two teams of oxen. Something must be done as it was breaking the parade in two.

"Main Street was a narrow grass grown road. The float moved so slowly, and the road was so narrow that the rest of the parade could not pass it. But, the grass helped to solve the problem. Some enterprising person thought of salt, and sprinkled it on the grass beside the road. The oxen pulled out of line of the parade to lick the salt, and no amount of urging could get them to move on. The parade moved on to its destination where the Speech was to be made, and quite a political rally took place. It turned out to be Stephan Douglas' day, - - - but as we all remember, Lincoln was successful^{and} at the inauguration^{and} became our President. "

To - Dr. McMurtry,
From Mrs. James Stores
4516 Smith St.

Stephen Douglas famous guest

STEPHEN From 13S
dent of the Old
Settlers.

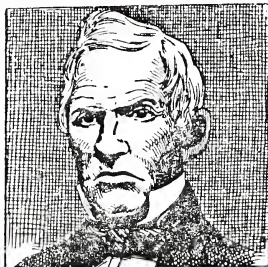
Another high-
light in the hotel's
history came that
same year when
Democratic presi-
dential candidate
Stephen A. Doug-
las, known as "the
Little Giant,"
came to Fort
Wayne and made
his headquarters
at the Rockhill
House. The first night Douglas held
forth with one of his usual fiery
attacks on his opponent, Abe Lincoln,
and enthusiastically supported the
issues of states' rights from the bal-
cony of Rockhill House. The next
day, the biggest parade ever seen in
Fort Wayne up to that time marched
by for two hours heading for the St.
Marys River (at the end of Wayne
Street) where a natural amphi-
theater served the candidate well.

An editor commented about the
Douglas visit that "the vulgarity and
noise kept up on the streets showed
that whiskey was doing more for him
than he could do for himself. It don't
take much sense, knowledge or gen-
tility to be a Democrat."

William Rockhill died in 1865, and
the Rockhill House, which never was
a financial success, closed in 1867.

This was, however, the ideal place
for the Poor Handmaids of Jesus
Christ to start their hospital. When
the Sisters re-opened the old hotel
doors in 1869, they were still scrub-
bing the place when the first patient
was admitted. Nurses were always in
demand, but so were beds. In that
first year, Sister Mary Henrica, hav-
ing prepared the meals one day,
went on second shift keeping watch
all that night at the home of a sick
person. When she returned the next
day for some much-needed rest she
found her bed had been taken the
night before and given to a patient.

A few months, later Dr. Isaac
Rosenthal performed the first sur-
gery at St. Joseph's. Rosenthal was
born in 1831 in Germany and immi-
grated to the United States in 1847.
Although he received a basic educa-
tion in Germany, Rosenthal learned
his medical practice, as was usual at
that time, largely by apprenticing to
another physician. He came to Fort
Wayne in 1860, and took an active
part in the development of the Ach-
duth Vesholom Congregation, the
oldest Jewish congregation in Indi-
ana. Several times president of the
local medical society, he soon be-
came St. Joseph's chief of staff and
was the instrumental figure in the
development of medical services at



Rockhill, 1793-1865.

was the custom. For this service, the
city and township trustees paid the
hospital \$3 per week for each pa-
tient.

The first addition was built in
1879, but the smallpox epidemic of
1881-1882 caused a crisis in avail-
able patient space. To give more
room, the sisters moved their chapel
and convent out of the old hotel, and
built new structures next to the hos-
pital to serve their personal and reli-
gious needs.

Concerned with the problems of
communicable diseases, in 1889, the
Sisters opened an isolation facility
west of the hospital on land known
as the Orff Homestead (on West
Main Street near the bridge over the
St. Marys River). By the turn of the
century, the isolation ward was
closed and the area, then called St.
Roch's Farm, was converted to the
production of vegetables and poul-
try for the hospital.

The great addition erected in
1912-1913 facing Broadway, boasted
the newest facilities, from steam
heat (cleaner than the hot air of the
coal furnaces) and full electrical ser-
vice to the newest incubators, X-ray
equipment, and "ultra-violet ray"
treatment rooms.

It was also early in this century
that another unique program for the
poor was begun. For those who could
not afford medical care (there were
no health insurance programs), the
hospital sold tickets, at \$7.50 each,
that would entitle the holder to
board, bed, care and treatment for
one year.

In 1918, the nursing school, offer-
ing a three-year program, was
opened and a medical technicians'
school was begun in 1946.

The hospital continued its growth
in the 20th Century, with the most
dramatic physical changes taking
place from 1929, when the Berry
Street wing was built, to the mid-60s
when the nine-story Broadway wing
was built.

It was during the construction of
the Berry Street wing, completed in
1929, that the last remnants of the

the hospital.

In the early
years, St. Joseph's
was unique in offer-
ing special pro-
grams for the
poor. In 1870, for
example, the hos-
pital initiated a
program that en-
abled all poor resi-
dents of Allen County to be
treated there
rather than being
placed in the
"poorhouse," as

90-year-old Rockhill House finally
were torn down. What had started as
"Rockhill's Folly" turned out to be-
come one of the city's greatest as-
sets.

Michael Hawfield is executive director of
Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical So-
ciety.

Newspaper
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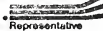
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fine restaurants will co
So c'mon, indulge! Nouris
Ballet, Cinema Center, Ci
Museum of Art, Philhar

